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DID MOSES WRITE THE PENTATEUCH
AFTER ALL?

DID MOSES WRITE THE PENTATEUCH AFTER ALL?

BY

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‘ τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεὶ πάντα συνάξει τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ’
‘ With the truth all facts and realities agree.’
ARISTOTLE.

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P R E F A C E .

WE live in an age when much that has been held sacred is feared to be uncertain. The stories that were the light and safeguard of our childhood seem to grow dim in their instruction for our manhood. But is not this because we never laid the foundations deep enough? Our minds are full of so many things that few of us have time to verify the greatest of them. And so to hear of doubt is almost to embrace it.

That sentence of Bacon is true in many applications: 'A little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism; but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion.' We have no need to fear that knowledge that grasps principles will shake what is great and high within us.

It may seem a strange statement at first sight, but upon reflection it may be observed to be a true one, that in every department of enquiry we, in this nineteenth century, need a good deal to be withdrawn from the worship of

authority to the study of fact. That 'man is the measure of all things' is no truer now than ever it was. One fact is stronger than many great names. It is not alone in the physical sciences that authority has hindered the progress of real knowledge. To estimate facts for ourselves is the highest call of a liberal education. To live in an atmosphere of fact is its highest gift.

Great writers in Church and State are but guides. The teaching of the Church is but to produce in us the knowledge of the living God.

The following historical suggestions—made in the midst of other work and therefore not so full as might be wished—are offered in the hope that, as they were felt to be of use to the writer, so they may be of use to others. It is trusted that they are an honest endeavour to come by the truth, and, if necessary, to defend it.

The writer is firmly of opinion that Moses is not played out. He feels rather that to restore him is one of the greatest needs of the age. Where he has found himself under the necessity to speak strongly, he hopes that the indulgent reader will not interpret it as a want of charity. Where he may be judged to have failed, he prays that others may be found to succeed.

The Feast of St. Luke,
1892.

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‘Suppose all the members of any common family to be thrown together in one place, amidst strangers or savages, and there immediately becomes a common life, an unity of action, interest, and purpose, distinct from others around them, which renders them at once a fit subject of history.’ — Arnold’s ‘Lectures on Modern History,’ page 4.

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RECENT CRITICISM ON THE PENTA- TEUCH FROM AN HISTORICAL POINT OF VIEW.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY.

1. The attitude of scientific inquiry—2. The problem stated. The importance and meaning of literary tradition—3. The critical hypothesis in its latest development—4. Its need of scientific verification—5. An impossible task given to certain unknown supposed writers or sources by the critical theory.

NOTES.—A. Upon the value of Wellhausen's judgment as a guide to scientific history—B. The critical *ipse dixit*—C. The unreality of the supposed documents or sources—D. The historical colour and accuracy of the Pentateuch.

I. WE may count ourselves fortunate that the call to investigate the Pentateuch anew comes from a school of British critics of so fair and so reverent a spirit. To take them at their own valuation, it is no longer the citadel that

is attacked.* It is a question of defences within it. We are freed from the *odium Theologicum*. It is a question of science. But in the name of science therefore, the enquiry must be carried on without panic or prejudice, upon strictly inductive principles. We must try to get rid alike of the *idola specus* and of the *idola theatri*. Nor may we start with the opinion that any of the problems that open out before us are insoluble. That is not the temper of science. Insoluble questions emerge from the crucible of experiment. And at the outset we may hold up certain, as it were, lamps and guiding lights of criticism without much fear of being controverted. First, in this investigation facts and not consequences are to be regarded. We may not shrink from accepting well-ascertained facts, because they shake to their foundations old established opinions. Secondly, inductions, not ideas or authorities, are to be followed. In the treatment of very ancient historical records we may well fear mere theorising, however clever and however learned. And, thirdly, we have nothing to do with a 'traditional' party as such, nor with a 'critical' party as such, except in so far as

* Though the importance of the real issues at stake will, it may be conjectured, become increasingly manifest.

the history and conditions of these several parties demonstrate that their help towards the solution of the problem is vitiated by prejudice.

And we should like to point out that, if, as their antagonists assert, the 'traditional' school sometimes plays to the gallery, and sometimes has an incomplete, sometimes an inaccurate grasp of the facts, there is still more reason for inferring the possibility of a prejudice in the case of the 'critical' school. The British school of critics leans, and leans too much, upon a German authority which at its source is tainted with prejudices, of which the existence is unquestioned. These are two-fold; and at the root and fountain-head of the system, first, there is the *à priori* refusal of the miraculous; secondly, there is the expressed desire to bring Old Testament research into line with progressive thought. Development from a few types or germs, evolution by the continuous action of simple laws, as they are presumed to be the master key of physical science, are presumed to be also the master key of historical science.

It is also considered essential to make the history of Israel fall into line with the progress of thought with regard to the history of all other nations, and to account for it on the

same principles of pure naturalism. Who does not see that all this, however seductive to the thinker, is but to beg the question at issue? The most ancient history in the world, and the authorship and date of the chronicle of it, must yield up the principle of its birth and value to strict examination alone.*

There is something else also much to be deprecated, and that is the intellectual terrorism which is sometimes put in the forefront of the resistless advance of the 'critical' army. 'Almost every younger scholar of mark is on the side of Vatke and Reuss, Lagarde and Graf, Kuenen and Wellhausen,'† we are told by Mr. Robertson Smith. The inference is immediate, but it is not consoling in the interests of truth.

We are led to infer that the older scholars are fossils, and that anyone daring to differ from the new light in the present must be a fool. There is, perhaps, a constitutional tendency in men, who have gone far to wipe out Moses and Abraham, to wipe out other less respectable people also.

* It would even defeat the object of the comparative inquiry so ably carried on in the 'Golden Bough,' and Tylor's 'Early History of Mankind,' and 'Primitive Culture,' if one myth were allowed to run into another. Each must be separately examined.

† Preface to Wellhausen's 'Prolegomena.'

And the word 'critical' itself is open to the same objection, as it is sometimes used. 'This is the *ipse dixit* of the critical school,' we are often told. And yet the unsatisfied mind of the steadfast inquirer cannot fail to see that the very question in debate is whether such and such a conclusion is or is not a conclusion of a just criticism.

2. Turning then with these postulates to the inquiry as to the date and authorship of the Pentateuch as it is at present being carried on, we are met, we think, *in limine*, by a very serious misconception, which takes its rise almost unconsciously from the latent ambiguity of the words 'traditional,' 'traditional view.' The expression 'tradition' may be taken to mean the view traditionally held amongst ourselves. The word 'traditional' would so become what Archbishop Whately called a 'question-begging epithet.' It would imply the opposite of critical. And this sense tends to involve it with the mistakes of a long line of Biblical scholars who lived before the birth of criticism in its modern sense, and with the mistakes of present-day literal inspirationists. But really the true scientific value of 'tradition' we suppose to be this. It means tradition presumptively contemporaneous with and derived from the times of the writings we examine. And undoubtedly

there is certain and confirmed scientific reason for giving a definite, not uncritical, but important place to historical tradition, as a fact of historical investigation, which cannot without a reason be set aside, and of which an account must in any case be given. 'I have laid it down as an invariable maxim,' says F. von Schlegel, 'constantly to follow historical tradition and to hold fast by that clue, even when many things in the testimony and declarations of tradition appear strange and almost inexplicable, or at least enigmatical: for so soon as in the investigation of ancient history we let slip that thread of Ariadne, we can find no outlet from the labyrinth of fanciful theories, and the chaos of clashing opinions.'* And the force of historical tradition seems to us to reside as much in confirmed implication, as in direct statement, whether contemporaneous or later. We mean, for instance, that the historical handing on from remote ages of such a fixed idea as 'the law of Moses,' and the uncontradicted identification of the law of Moses with our present Pentateuch, raises in the mind a strong presumption that Moses had a principal hand in the origination and codification of that law. After inquiry may modify the conclusion sug-

* Schlegel's 'Philosophy of History,' Lecture I., page 81 (Bohn).

gested, or may even render it untenable, but this kind of evidence must, it seems, always on sound principles of historical criticism be treated with respect.

And it would be the most fallacious of all fallacies to lead anyone to imagine that this is a property pleaded for with regard to the history of the Hebrew records in any way as something peculiar to them. All history hangs upon it. To undermine this principle is to make all history doubtful. Indeed, the probable veracity of literary traditions has been so strongly received as an axiom of historical investigation, that very little has been done to establish the reasons which tend to make it axiomatic. Literary tradition carries with it at once two strong presumptions: first, that it is contemporaneous, for it always remains to be shown how certain works have been attributed to a certain writer, if not by himself and by his contemporaries; and secondly, that it is authentic, for there generally is an absence of motive to fraud.

Let anyone ponder, for instance, why we accept the sayings of Confucius as his, coming as they do from the remote times of the Chinese empire. If any man should attribute the sword song to Lamech,* or the poem in Judges v. to Deborah, why does he do so?

* Gen. iv. 23, 24.

Surely because of the strong presumption, amounting almost to certainty, of a *contemporaneous* tradition. A few instances, taken almost at random, will tend, it is hoped, to make this universal principle clearer. The ‘Commentaries on the Gallic War,’ attributed to Julius Cæsar (*circa* B.C. 50) are written in the third person throughout. Nothing but the title indicates the author. So much so is this, that Sidonius and Orosius, in the fifth century A.D., know the work only by its title, and mistake it to be ‘Commentaries on Cæsar’s Gallic War,’ written by Suetonius. The internal evidence is the air of an eyewitness and one implicated in the transactions—the Celtic names, and similarity to what we otherwise know of Cæsar. Hirtius, a friend of Cæsar’s, speaks of ‘Cæsaris nostri Commentarios.’ Cicero, a contemporary, mentions them as his. Suetonius (*circa* A.D. 70) speaks of them as his also. It is evident that the strongest evidence for *us*, that we have in the book that is come down to us, the ‘Commentaries of Julius Cæsar,’ is the title of the MS., which is a register of contemporaneous tradition. Yet, no sane man will doubt we have the authentic work of Julius Cæsar.*

* Teuffel’s ‘History of Roman Literature,’ vol. i., page 317.

Again, there is a book of Tacitus (*circa* A.D. 68) 'Dialogus de Oratoribus.' It differs in style and mood from his other writings. Its style is 'Ciceronian.' It is characterised by an absence of his later 'bitterness,' and even by 'artistic serenity.' There is only an indirect allusion to it in one of Pliny's letters to Tacitus. But 'undue importance,' says Professor Teuffel, 'has been attached to the deviation of the style of this work from the later style of Tacitus; and the entire neglect of the causes of this discrepancy, and also of the agreement, which is almost as striking, have since the time of J. Lipsius, caused many to consider the work as not Tacitean, and to guess all manner of authors, *e.g.*, Pliny the Younger, Suetonius, Quintilian. In the whole period there is absolutely nobody whom we might credit with sufficient talent and character to be the author of the Dialogus.*' Hence Professor Teuffel asserts there is now a general agreement that Tacitus wrote the book. Here, again, it will be observed, that the title of the MS. is for us the strongest part of the evidence, as being considered a register of contemporaneous tradition.

We may imagine in 3000 A.D. a school of

* Teuffel's 'History of Roman Literature,' vol ii., page 172.

critics who shall have directed their attention to the writings of Milton, and who shall have come to the conclusion that the same hand is not seen in the 'Paradise Lost,' the 'Lycidas,' and the 'Paradise Regained.' Where, they might say, in the 'Paradise Regained' is to be found the dramatic force and creative imagination of the 'Paradise Lost'? How different the tone of the 'Lycidas'? And yet one would feel that the name on the title-page, showing an unbroken confirmed if implicit tradition, would outweigh all such opinions, for variety and variableness are the distinctive feature of genius. Again, what conclusion might a critic of the same period draw from the earliest and the latest styles of Carlyle? And yet the evidence of tradition would be quite decisive here. Again, to take another instance still, there is an excellent recent work by Archdeacon, then Canon Farrar, called 'Eternal Hope.' The style of the preface is quiet, scholarly, and scientific. The rest of the book is popular and efflorescent. Imagine the conclusion of your critic of 3000 A.D. 'The book on the face of it was not written by an Archdeacon of this period. It is the work of a distinguished Nonconformist, as is shown from its point of view. The preface is the work of a learned Redactor.' And yet the implicit tradition of the title-page would

stand. What might be called implicit or indirect historical tradition, that is to say, reliance on titles of MSS. (and even indirect allusions of contemporaries), as conveying a strong presumption of contemporaneous tradition, must ever be a fact of first importance to any historical decision as to its author and period.

The verdict of antiquity can rarely be set aside, and if this be a principle applied without hesitation, and with good results to the history of other literatures, there is every reason to apply it also to the history of Hebrew literature. There is evidence of great care in this respect amongst the Hebrews.

It will thus be seen that the discovery* that we may have given an exaggerated and uncritical value to the authority of Ezra and the Great Synagogue as the close and sanction of the canon of the Hebrew Scriptures, does by no means dispose of the evidences derived from tradition. This discovery is for the purpose for which it is used, an *ignoratio elenchi*. The question to be decided by the historical student is, how did the Pentateuch as it stands come by the name of Moses? It may be shown, by the way, that Ezra and the Great Synagogue have not been quite fairly treated; for, if the quite unhistorical letter of Aristeas is yet a

* Prof. Driver's 'Introduction,' pages xxvii-xxxv.

strong confirmation of the fact otherwise proved that the LXX. translation took its beginning at the instance and for the purposes of an early Ptolemy, vague and sometimes foolish allusions to the work of Ezra and the Great Synagogue are strong confirmations of the fact, otherwise educed, of an edition of the Hebrew Scriptures having been issued under their superintendence generally correspondent to that which we now have.

The emphasis given by the grandson of Jesus, the son of Sirach, in his Preface (130 B.C.), to the triple division of the canon is very noticeable. The reference occurs three times in a very short space, in which he speaks of these three divisions as containing the literary treasures of his nation, and is coupled with the statement that the canonical Scriptures themselves have become antiquated in language (*ὁν μικρὰν ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς λεγόμενα*).*

‘The law, the prophets, and the rest of the books,’ refers to a definite, and probably, because of the high estimation given to it, a closed collection of writings. Ezra and the Great Synagogue are the only possible persons, it should seem, to whom this collection can be referred.

* Ecclesiasticus—Prologue by the grandson of Jesus.

But the extent and character of the work of Ezra and the Great Synagogue is by no means the only or the strongest bulwark of the veracity of literary tradition amongst the Hebrews.

That is not the main point. 'The firemen are playing upon a place where the fire is not.' The force and value of historical tradition depends upon other considerations. Some of these may be thus stated. It is a conclusion alike of mental physiology and of historical experience that genius and light and leading can no more exist without some possibility of social appreciation than music can exist in a vacuum. There is a certain degree of action and reaction in the production and influence of great men. The fact of a Beethoven implies, and necessarily implies, a certain amount of culture in the nation that produced him, and a certain capacity, if even a low level of capacity, in them of appreciation. If we had no history of the nation we must perforce infer this. A Beethoven or a Mozart is an impossible product in a savage or primitive nation. And this culture and this appreciation is a certain amount of guarantee for the conservation of his works as his.

And 'the philosophers, the prophets, and the poets, whom we now venerate as the noblest benefactors of our race, have earned their

claim to that distinction, not by bringing us messages from other spheres, which they alone were privileged to visit, but by enunciating truths which our expanded intellect accepts as self-evident, by proclaiming great principles which our deepened insight perceives to constitute the basis of all morality, by creating forms of beauty to which our heightened and purified sense looks up as standards of ideal perfection. And this could not be, unless the intuitions of genius call forth echoes from the depths of our souls; awaking dormant faculties, which can apprehend if they cannot create, which can respond, if they cannot originate.’*

The idea of this quotation may possibly have been intended to exclude historic revelation; but the truth contained in it remains. Revelation uses the same method. It appeals to the image of God in which we were created. The possibility of sympathy is the secret of influence. Apply this to Hebrew history. No man will ever persuade us that the towering genius and ascendancy of Moses was entirely the creation of a later and by no means famous age. The conclusion of Colenso must be given up as a psychological impossibility.

And if Moses, great, magnanimous Moses, existed in any sort, he did not exist in a social

* Carpenter’s ‘Mental Physiology,’ page 506.

vacuum. There was a circle of social appreciation of some sort. And the greater the influence, the greater the education of the circle of greater or less sympathy, the greater the guarantee of the preservation of the writings and the work which he wrote or authorised as his. The ark is the symbol of the conservation of documents. The influence of Moses was essentially based upon the education of the people.

Any thorough realisation of the influence of Moses upon the contemporary Hebrew nation would, it is conceived, go far to explode the mere theorising about literary possibilities, which is at present popular. Men who had known Moses would be very far from attributing to him what he was not author of. There is something sacred in such an influence.* And that the men of his time did directly attribute literary compositions to Moses is as certain as any literary fact can be made certain. The evidence would be received as decisive in any other literary history.

It may further be pointed out that the atmosphere of the early and later Hebrew history is specially favourable to the veracity alike of literary tradition, and of the conserva-

* Compare the estimate of Moses probably by someone who had known him well (v. 7), and written some time after his death in Deut. xxxiv.

tion of documents. There is a seriousness of type, a sense of a sacred deposit of faith, a belief in the future. There are traces from the first of a pious family, zealous to preserve what was their comfort. It can be followed through the line of Seth and Noah (compare the historic implications of Gen. v. 29), Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and Joseph, down to the mother of Moses. The historic reasons which influenced the earnest desire and command of Joseph as to the carrying up of his bones when God visited the children of Israel (Gen. l. 24-26), are a monument of long-standing family convictions. In the time of Moses there are indications of rival culture in the camp (Num. xi. 26-30 ; xvi.), he found able men out of all Israel fit to settle the smaller matters of judgment (Exodus xviii.), he was helped by seventy elders. Joshua was his minister. The book of the wars of the Lord (Num. xxi. 14, 15), and the book of Jasher (Joshua x. 13), which, whenever its final recension, contained ancient poems, the well song (Num. xxi. 17, 18), are indications of a contemporary literary spirit. And not all its products are assigned to Moses.

All these things, as it seems, are confirmatory of the veracity of Hebrew literary traditions. And even the troubled and disunited times of

the Judges are not without brighter spots, and individuals who emerge from them. The judges themselves were the result of the Mosaic system (Exodus xviii.). A fine poem (Judges v.) indicates that the literary spirit had not quite died down. And surely some of the very graphic history must be the history of contemporaries (cf. Judges xviii. and xix.). It breathes a different air from that of later times.* It is again highly probable that the state of general education was higher than the silence and the fragmentary records of history would lead us to suppose. The office of teaching is distinctly given to the college of Levites in the ancient blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 10); every father is to instruct his children, and write the great commandments on his door-posts (Deut. vi. 7-9). What would be the good of that if no one could read? Popular national education has its founder in Moses (Deut iv. 5-9, and xxix. 29). The Psalms of David contain reminiscences of Sinai, embody more ancient poems, and presuppose an historic religion as much as the hymns of the Christian Church presuppose an historic religion. Who is the Lord of the Psalms, if not the

* Compare also for the same literary feeling in preserving traditions in the later time of the judges 1 Sam. ix. 9.

Lord of the History? They also imply education at Bethlehem and an audience in some degree capable of appreciating them. Their ancient headings, supplementing as they do the historical record, show the instinct of literary tradition. The Psalm of Asaph, a Levite (Ps. lxxviii.), contemporary with David (ver. 72), is full of reflections of Mosaic history, and emphasizes the great importance of popular education (ver. 1-7). And indeed the history of Israel is full of traits favourable to the truth of literary traditions. The age of Solomon is an age of literary production. The schools of the prophets were continued till the exile. In the courts of the Temple were found students of the ancient records. Repetitions in the prophets and in the later Psalms, as well as the tradition at any rate of Daniel's study of Jeremiah, indicate the scholastic habit.* Hezekiah's time was an epoch of authorship. The arrangement of the Psalter, surely in some part of it ancient, is characterised by cultured insight.

There seems even good ground for attributing a collection of Psalms to David himself, of which Ps. lxxii. 20 is a reminiscence. 'The Psalms or prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended;' who but David would so speak of the greater establisher of the kingdom?

* Compare Leathes' 'Law in the Prophets,' page 153.

The state of the text of Jeremiah in the LXX. and in the Hebrew, differing as it does in arrangement, seems to be a strong indication of the Hebrew literary instinct. The different prophecies of Jeremiah appear to have been carried away from the destruction of Jerusalem both to Egypt and to Babylon, and the after arrangement in Egypt was different from the arrangement in Babylon. But in neither case was anything not by Jeremiah inserted, nor anything by Jeremiah left out in any important instance. The variations are small. This treatment of an unpopular prophet at a time of much distress and very unsettled circumstances seems to point to the powerful hold literary considerations had upon the minds of educated Hebrews. In fact, there is no period of the Hebrew history (down to the time of the Maccabees, 2 Macc. ii. 14) when traces of careful literary instinct may not be found.

Here, then, is the meaning and force of the evidence derived from tradition. It argues from history and from necessity the existence of a body of more or less intelligent contemporaneous tradition, which is registered by the verdict as to authorship and as to facts, which has come down to us preserved by a continuous tradition. Tradition may be set aside, but it must be set aside by evidence to the contrary.

History must sink into hopeless scepticism if we are to attach no weight to it.

3. Tradition from one aspect is the backbone of history, from another it is the proper starting-point of criticism. But tradition does not decide the question of the authorship of the Pentateuch. It does not do so by the name of it *התורה*, or later *המשה חומשי התורה*, the law, the five fifth-parts of the law.* It does not do so in any way directly as a whole. What tradition asserts, and asserts with unvarying tone, is that Moses was the master-spirit of the Hebrew legislation. 'The law came by Moses.' It asserts surely by a consequent implication that the main part and pervading spirit of the law was substantially contemporaneous with the lawgiver and in some definite way his. And tradition directly asserts his immediate authorship of certain magnificent pieces of poetry, of certain discourses, and of certain writings, which are handed down to us in the law. Who wrote the rest is a matter for critical and historical inquiry.

It is in this connection important to remember that the style and language of 'the law,' while it may in its various parts suggest or even prove the occurrence of a different

* Bleek's 'Introduction,' I., page 184.

hand, or different hands, in its composition, is not held to be decisive as to its date. It should seem the balance of evidence is, as far as language and style are concerned, in favour of a high antiquity; for it is the standard of the language of the best Hebrew literature. An attempt will be made later to show that the archaisms of the Pentateuch (as indeed some other important evidences of language) receive insufficient attention from the critical school. The slight but interesting Aramaic tinge in Genesis xxi. 7, in a speech of Sarah's, who came from Chaldæa, the name of the cairn of witness given by Laban the Syrian (הארמי, Gen. xxxi. 21), and if there be any other things of a like kind, scarcely need a reference to the dictum that Aramaism is a sign of a very early or of a late date. But, if we concede to the critics in their present mood, that the language and style may possibly, in the main, and with reference to its compilation, be placed anywhere in the golden age of the Hebrew literature, it will be seen that to historical considerations and considerations of pragmatism is left the burden of the proof as to the origin and date of the Pentateuch.

Let us turn then to recent theories of its composition in search of the light we need as to these points.

And surely we cannot be wrong if we take Professor Driver's 'Introduction'* as a representation of what is most happy, and most lucid in recent work upon the subject.

There is one thing which is a cause for congratulation. The history of opinion in the analysis and literary investigation of the Pentateuch has gone through all the forms and variations of combination which perhaps are possible. Critic after critic has laid down with more reason, or often with less reason, his own particular scheme. But it is no longer necessary to examine tediously into the basis and meaning of their work. Clericus, Astruc, Semler, Eichhorn, Michaelis, Ewald, De Wette, and the others are but pioneers. Colenso, who rejoiced to have made Moses as shadowy a character as Æneas of the Trojan War, is out of date himself. And 'the older literature, which has been largely superseded by more recent works,' we find in Professor Driver's bibliography 'is for want of space omitted altogether.' The labour of many has had its culmination in the genius of one. Wellhausen is arisen, as it were, a Newton of criticism. And he has Kuenen for his minister. 'Kuenen

* An Introduction to the 'Literature of the Old Testament,' by S. R. Driver, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christchurch, Oxford. T. and T. Clark.

and Wellhausen are men whose acumen and research have carried this inquiry to a point when nothing of vital importance for the study of Old Testament religion still remains uncertain.' So has Professor Robertson Smith said.* We have therefore in effect only one theory, namely the theory of Wellhausen, which remains of value in itself. All the others are contributions, but this is supposed to settle the matter. And this theory in the main does Professor Driver lucidly set forth.

What then are the conclusions set forward, divested of their critical setting, and treated as the elements of a scientific hypothesis? We find that 'the law' or the Pentateuch is considered to be in its present shape a compilation, in which, speaking generally, the hands of five compilers are to be discovered, denoted severally as J, E, P, H, and D. The algebraical nature of the symbols employed indicates that these compilers are no historical personages, but that they are an inference grounded, we are told, upon cumulative critical probability that they may or even must have been historical personages.

We have been told that to speak of compilers is wrong, although the Pentateuch may

* Professor Robertson Smith's 'Religion of the Semites,' Preface.

be spoken of as a compilation. J, E, P, H, and D, are to be called documents or sources. And herein we may discern a useful ambiguity, tending towards mythical shadowiness. But there is no doubt that, in some way or other, we are dealing with supposed persons. No one will be hardy enough to assert that 'sources' are instances of spontaneous generation. The capacities, the tendencies, the limitations of men, one man or more men, lie behind J, E, P, H, and D. As Professor Driver* handles them, they have flesh and bones enough. They have divergencies of style, characteristic method, historic bias and motive. Professor Driver (page 116) speaks of J and E as 'him'; speaks of P as 'he' (page 118, 'his aim is'), and as an 'author' (page 123); speaks of H as not being Ezekiel, and of an author about the closing years of the monarchy having arranged H's earlier laws in their present parenetic setting (page 143). He speaks of an 'author' of Deuteronomy, the symbol D (page 89), and speaks of 'his power as an orator,' of 'his warm and persuasive eloquence.' He also speaks of a 'Deuteronomic Editor, D²,' and of the parts added by this writer as being 'in most cases readily recognised by their characteristic style.' This gentleman, however, being

* Driver's 'Introduction,' pages 109-148.

not concerned apparently with the Pentateuch, does not concern this inquiry.

The dates assigned to the work of J, E, P, H, and D are as follow, and speaking with sufficient accuracy for the purpose in view. E and J, who are very like one another (page 109), 'belonged to the northern and southern kingdoms respectively and represent the special form which Israelitish tradition assumed in each locality' (page 116). The date assigned to them varies from 900 B.C. to 750 B.C. (page 116), or taking the earliest date about one thousand years from Abraham's time, about five hundred years from the time of the Exodus.

They 'cast into literary form what may be termed the *popular* conception of the patriarchal and Mosaic age.' P's 'aim is to give a *systematic* view, from a priestly standpoint, of the origin and chief institutions of the Israelitish theocracy' (page 118), and his age, it should appear, wavers from earlier to later. P stands, it should seem, rather for a series of compilers than one. But the work of P 'in its complete form' (page 146) is after the exile, that is to say, at least four or five hundred years after Solomon's Temple, at least a thousand years after the Exodus, and a thousand five hundred years after Abraham. And P above the others has the tendency towards

historical romance (page 134). The work of H was to work up earlier laws to their existing state about the closing years of the monarchy, say about a thousand years after Moses; while D wrote his part of 'the law' before 621 B.C., 'not later than the reign of Manasseh,' and not much before it (page 82). D is said to 'belong, at least approximately, to this age,' that is to say, at least six or seven hundred years from Moses.

And J and E are called by Professor Driver 'the prophetic narrative of the Hexateuch' (the book of Joshua being included), while P and H are called 'the priestly narrative.' The distance of time which divides these writers from the time of Moses and the time of the patriarchs is given in each case generally, with only pretension to sufficient exactness for the purpose in view. But there is no need to debate the matter. It is the very vital breath and purpose of the theory amongst the Germans, its originators, and amongst their English followers, to prove the Pentateuch as it now stands to be the work of writers living many hundreds of years after Moses. Certain unknown men's writings, who lived at the earliest five hundred years after Moses, and about a thousand years from the times of the patriarchs, were combined in the Pentateuch as we now have it.

And the foregoing is a fair statement of the recent assignment of their historical positions. Nor are we left in doubt as to the material which these several compilers worked up, or which is worked up in the several 'sources,' into our present 'law.' They are these which follow: 1. Oral Tradition (Driver, page 117, and page 118). 2. Poetry, which is the first literature of nations (page 114). 3. 'Archaic elements' (Dillmann, page 116) and 'points fixed by tradition' (Dillmann, page 113). In some cases traditional elements in phraseology (page 148). 4. The ten commandments written in a shorter form. A written account of the war with Amalek (page 115.) 5. Perhaps the teaching of Moses ('the book of the covenant') preserved in its least modified form contained in Exodus, chapters xx. to xxiii. inclusive (page 145). Many ancient enactments from 'a more ancient body of law,' used by D and possibly by P. 6. The nucleus of a priesthood, and ancient institutions and privileges (page 146, note 2). 7. And from a still later period, pre-existing Temple customs and Temple archives (page 135). 8. 'The tradition—perhaps even in a written form—of a final address delivered by Moses in the plains of Moab' (page 85). Such material did these several compilers or sources work up into the

continuous, splendid, and graphic whole, which is now our priceless possession and heritage. Great men and rare! These are the conclusions, which 'since the publication of Wellhausen's Prolegomena in 1878,' to use the rather ominous words of a disciple, 'have become popular with scholars.'*

4. Now we are well aware that the 'investigations' of Wellhausen lie behind all this. Professor Driver's purpose and his space allow him rather dogmatic statement than formal proof. Proofs are from time to time suggested, and an attempt is made to clear the theory from many *à priori* objections. The concessions made to English prejudices in favour of reality of treatment, have roused the wrath of Professor Cheyne. But the critical lists of words peculiar to or characteristic of J, E, P, and H, suggest to the unsophisticated observer the possibility of what the logicians call reasoning in a circle. If, for instance, you allot to J all passages where certain words and phrases occur, and then use those words and phrases as among the proofs of the existence of J, it does not appear how you can escape a circular argument. Many of the critical observations, again, only require a bare reference to the text to show them to be singularly uncertain.

* Riehm's 'Messianic Prophecy,' page 327.

Wellhausen's theory of Judaism underlies the whole.

But it is clear that it is necessary, without going back over the grounds which are alleged for them, to compare the conclusions with the facts.

All this is and must be a scientific hypothesis set forth to account for certain observed facts and certain variations and similarities in the Pentateuch as it now stands. It is nothing more; nothing less. Before, therefore, it can be accepted as an inductive truth, it must be subjected to deductive verification. An hypothesis, or supposition to account for what are considered to be observed facts, is 'of such a nature as to be either proved or disproved by comparison with observed facts.'*

The nebular hypothesis of Laplace is the work of the most ingenious reasoning of a powerful mind. But it is not yet, as it should seem, received amongst the ascertained results of astronomy, because upon comparing it again with the facts, there results a small discrepancy. The moons of Uranus and Neptune, and the November meteors have motions contrary to the motions which the hypothesis requires they should have.† This may be so, or it may not

* Mill's 'Logic,' II., page 14.

† Beckett's 'Astronomy without Mathematics,' page 297.

be so; it is only used as an illustration. But it is plain that the result of the most powerful reasoning must be squared with the facts. Laplace's hypothesis would be quite discredited if we could imagine several of the worlds to be square and none of them to go the right way for it. Professor Driver will be the first to admit this. 'The reason,' he says, 'why the traditional view cannot be maintained is the presence of too many facts which conflict with it' (page 2). Again speaking of another theory he says, 'this theory fails, in a word, to account for the phenomena which the Pentateuch presents' (page 149).

5. A scientific supposition must cover the facts to be explained, or else it is proved to be insufficient. Let us apply this test to the hypothesis before us. The first fact which seems to emerge from a comparative consideration of the foregoing conclusions is a fact or discrepancy. There is no valid historical reason, outside the exigencies of the theory itself, for the various periods to which the compilers are assigned. i. There are times undoubtedly historical to which literary impulse may be ascribed. The time of Moses was evidently one of them, and writing is allowed to have been used by him. Yet no written interest in contemporary history and in ancient tradi-

tions or documents, no adequate written codification of laws and constitutions is to be allowed to this age—the age of the birth of a nation. If Moses was in any sort of the power and genius attributed to him, the influence given to him in the moulding of the Pentateuch does not appear, to say the least, equivalent to his ability or adapted to the needs of the education of a people. The remains of Moses are dry and cold.

The genius of Ewald recognises this. ‘As certainly,’ says Ewald, ‘as the Buddhist commandments are only an ingenious extract from a much larger multitude of truths and opinions, so Moses also knew and taught much more than these ten commandments, which taken alone are a mere dry skeleton, but considered with reference to their intrinsic character and significance imply a religion originally taught with a perfect living fulness.’* But at the touch of this theory the perfect living fulness which exists in the Hebrew records disappears. No characteristic doctrine, no forceful institutions, no living personality remain. There is laid bare the nucleus of Mosaism. The ten commandments in a shorter form, a few simple social, agricultural, and pastoral regulations, which the theory will not allow to express any

* ‘History of Israel,’ II., page 159.

principle ; a few rudimentary written accounts of the most insignificant parts of the history ; a reminiscence, *perhaps* written, of an address delivered in the plains of Moab, are all that remain. Surely it is easier to account for the abiding influence of Moses, and the pre-eminent force of his doctrine according to the text of the Hebrew records than by this theory.

ii. The golden age of the Hebrew monarchy, again, that is to say, the time of David and Solomon, was another known period of intellectual activity. Thence dates the birth of Psalmody and Proverbial Philosophy. Researches into origins, and codification and revision of laws, are historically certain products of a time when a nation reaches by conquest its meridian of stability, and grows high in aspiration. But no written edition of history or of laws is allowed to this age.

iii. It does not appear why, for the first time, an interest in their historical traditions should influence about the same period of the divided monarchy two writers or sources, J, E, who in Professor Driver's opinion might almost have been one (p. 109), who yet belong E to the northern, J to the southern kingdom, and influence them for the first time to 'cast into a literary form what might be termed the popular conception of

the patriarchal and Mosaic age.' We might ask why was this not done before? Were there no writers in David's time, none in Solomon's, fit for the task? The times of the divided monarchy were not so stable and quiet as to be favourable for it. At any rate, it is clear there are no historical reasons for assigning E and J to this time.

iv. Again, we are invited to believe that by a pious fraud the quiet greatness of Deuteronomy is the product of a writer living in the midst of the stir of political events which imperil the very existence of his nation, and in a time verging on a general apostasy.

This unknown writer must have been a specially great man, and have been singularly fortunate in obtaining an immediate hearing for his work (2 Kings xxiii. 2, 3).

v. Lastly, we are invited to believe that the most earnest, and complete, and fictitious working up of priestly legislation was brought about by P, when, to all human probability, it would not be needed. For the temple in his day either had no existence, or was only the simulacrum of the first (Ezra iii. 12, 13.)* The

* For Ezekiel, dwelling fondly on the past, to project it in vision into the future is a completely different thing from legislation. Codes are drawn up to meet felt needs. Surely, again, the builders of the second temple had

other sources were preserved by literary tradition for him, and with a great number of additions, he or some other worked them up into a fairly successful whole. What has been called the psychological mediation* of these writers or sources is not satisfactory.

But in the next place, taking a larger and more general view of the facts into comparison with which this theory must be brought, a conviction rises in mind that there are several observed facts which are critically incapable of being explained by it. It is a fortunate circumstance that there is no essential difference of opinion as to the principles of criticism. The difference lies in their application. Professor Driver helps us to two critical axioms. I quote his own words:

1. 'Abundance and particularity of detail show that the narrative must date from a period very little later than that of the events related' (page 173).

2. 'Narratives which point forwards and backwards to one another, and are in other ways so connected as to show that they are the work of one and the same writer' (page 163),

something more strenuous and more immediate on hand, than spinning out of their brains the fiction of a *'systematic view'* of their priestly institutions.

* Riehm's 'Messianic Prophecy,' page 55.

are probably by one and the same writer. Other axioms like to these may be added without much fear of entering upon debatable ground.

3. Local colouring, geographical atmosphere, and the influence of the conditions of any given time, are in ancient documents certain indications of date. It is an anachronism to attribute to antiquity powers which are wholly modern. Atmosphere is a late product of the skill of the landscape-painter. To transplant the mind to bygone days so that we live in the colour of their environment, and in the limitations of their thought, is the highest effort, and probably always an indifferently successful effort of the modern novelist.

4. Oral tradition may in ancient times hand on poems, and possibly orations and teachings, treasured in the memory and often recited, but it is not an adequate channel to convey historical accuracy reaching to complicated details through many ages, ages themselves full of events and pregnant with changes. Still less would a wise lawgiver tend to commit to it entirely a system of national legislation.*

5. Abruptness, incompleteness, even strange-

* 'No record that is entrusted to the mere memory embraces more than a limited period.'—Ewald, 'History of Israel,' I., 20.

ness of arrangement, as well as contradictions of statement, if such there be, left *in situ* unexplained, are matters of antiquity. As the Semitic harsher consonants tend in the later language to be displaced by consonants of smoother type, as the style of the older Psalmists is 'hard, bold, original,' while the style of the later is 'easy and flowing and marked by the presence of conventional thoughts and expressions,'* so the later compilers' work will be directed towards harmony and system.

And, sixthly, the principle of certain later additions to an ancient text is a natural one. The apparatus of notes explanatory or archaeological at the bottom of the page, or numbered at the end of the volume, is modern. It came in with printing. The idea of notes is strangely hostile to the 'critical' mind, but the principle which admits of them is abundantly conceded.

Now, there is something not to be pressed too far in what opponents allege against the critical hypothesis from the variations and character of the hypothesis itself. Surely the fact that what the earlier school of critics treated as the most ancient source of the compilers' development, 'the *grundschrift*,' is treated by the later school as post exilic, suggests the idea that there is something in-

* Hupfeld, in Driver's 'Introduction,' page 361.

secure in the basis of comparison.* Surely a theory which results from its very principles in turning a vivid, dramatic, connected history into a patchwork put together in different ages by different hands long after the events, does not so far recommend itself *à priori* as conformable to human experience. But this is not quite the line of the considerations to which we invite the attention of the reader. The most important result, it should seem, of any fair comparison of the hypothesis and the facts which it is set forward to explain is this, that E, J, P, H, and D, ancient writers, or sources, working at the dates assigned to them, distant by ages from the events, and working with the materials given to them, *could* not have composed the Pentateuch as it stands. They are set a task beyond their powers. The reader is besought to notice what is said, and not something that is not said. In the hypothesis we are examining there are no uncertain factors. We have the motive-power or force, E, J, H, D, and P; we have the date at which the work was done; we have the material given as in the analysis above set forth; we have the suggested product, the Pentateuch. It is strongly urged upon the reader that the Pentateuch as we have it is an impossible pro-

* Driver's 'Introduction,' page 128.

duct for *such* writers or sources working the earliest five hundred years after Moses, one thousand years after the patriarchal times, and the others hundreds of years later still, with *such* material as is given to them. It is not alleged that other writers working at a different time with a different material *might* not have written the Pentateuch as it stands. It is only just to treat the theory which is presented to us as not made in haste, and as fitted to be put to scientific tests. If the theory fails to account for one or two of the greater phenomena which the Pentateuch presents, it is still uncertain. If it cannot account for the larger part of the phenomena which the Pentateuch presents it is rendered untenable. Let us proceed therefore to test it in this way, and with reference to the foregoing canons of criticism.

Fact No. 1. The whole of the Pentateuch from one end to the other is full of histories which are characterised, and notably characterised, by 'abundance and particularity of detail.' Now, if there be any truth, as surely there is, in the dictum that 'such narratives must date from a period very little later than that of the events recorded,' what becomes of a supposition that such narratives were worked up by several hands ages after the events from meagre material?

Fact No. 2. The Pentateuch is full of histories 'which point backwards and forwards, and are in other ways so connected as to show that they are the work of one and the same writer.' This is no question of Hebrew style and language. It is open to the observation of the English reader. There is a practical homogeneousness in the family records, the historic dramas, and the pictures of moving and popular life, in the Pentateuch, which eludes the dissector's knife, and is present to the ordinary understanding.* If this be so, and let each man judge, what becomes of the supposition that these continuous and familiar recitations arose from the stringing together of fragments, as far as appears, in and by themselves abortive, without real beginning or end or intelligible course, fragments differentiated by difference of ages and of standpoint, written ages after the events, and afterwards pieced together by another later and different compiler, who used them at his will (See note C).

Let us not be misunderstood. We think that the several histories may have had several

* Canon Cheyne's gibe at the 'common-sense' of the 'plain Englishman' may be met by the admission of Kuenen, that the critic and the layman have in effect the same Bible. Science which cannot recommend its main ultimate results to the ordinary understanding is no science at all.

writers, or one writer using different written historical materials. An editor may have put them together. This may be indicated by inherent probability and inferences of style and language. What we plead is that each several history resists disintegration of a complicated and purely theoretical kind—that is, resists treatment of the kind proposed.

Fact No. 3. The Pentateuch is so full of local colouring, geographical atmosphere, and the influences of the times, that it is difficult out of so many instances to select examples. But let the reader consider the local colouring of the patriarchal lives, of Joseph's Egyptian life, of the Exodus, of the plagues, of the desert life, in each case exact and verifiable. What influence, for instance, governs the great comparison of Moses' song—Jahveh, the rock of Israel? Is it not a comparison brought about by long familiarity with the rocky peaks of Sinai, impossible in Egypt or among the softer slopes of the 'hill country of Judæa' (Deut. xxxii. 4, 18). Take another simple illustration of what is meant in an incident which it is believed Voltaire once was merry about, because of an insufficient knowledge of Egyptian customs. When Joseph was called hastily into the king's presence, 'he shaved himself and changed his raiment' (Gen. xli. 14). It

appears that the beards of the monuments which deceived Voltaire were false beards, tied on. He who neglected to shave was an object of reproach and ridicule to the Egyptians, and was probably a man of low condition.* The Hebrews, on the contrary, probably wore the beard long.

This is only given as illustrating the kind of exact local reference, which abounds in the Pentateuch, not as conclusive by itself. By geographical atmosphere is meant the influence of the geographical surroundings of the writer, even suggestive once and again that the world was much smaller to him than it could have been to later writers. Consider for examples the very interesting and very ancient geographical remarks of Gen. ii. 11-15. The hand of Havilah must have died out of sight by Moses' time, with the gold that 'was good' in it, and the bdellium and the onyx-stone. Surely, also, was not the very physical geography of the 'four heads' with their interesting partially traceable names changed before Moses' time by some physical disturbance, possibly connected with the Deluge? Consider again the very limited horizon of the deluge account. Here is no expanded world, no surrounding world-civilizations of the later times.

* Wilkinson's 'Egyptians,' II., page 327.

Would it be too much to suggest that the atmosphere of these accounts of the early chapters of Genesis was impossible for *Moses* even to have brought himself back into? Take again that most interesting insight into the limits of the ancient but later geography in Balaam's prophecy: 'Ships shall come from the coast of Chittim, and shall afflict Asshur, and shall afflict Eber, and he also shall perish for ever' (Num. xxiv. 24; quoted by Daniel, xi. 30). Cyprus (Chittim) is given as being Balaam's geographical limit of the West, and a prophecy is given, guaranteed genuine by its ancient phraseology, of the predominance of the West in the later time. There was a larger horizon in the times of Solomon and of Isaiah.*

Consider the point of view from which men talked and acted in the simple patriarchal times, in the larger but oppressive life of Egypt, in the republican freedom of the desert. Consider the manifest archaisms of old-world life that meet one at every turn. Is it too much to say that such place and time colouring is an impossible creation for writers living ages after, under far different and more historically-

* The Vulgate, with that curious tendency to exegetical translation which is also observable in the LXX., translates—'venient in trieribus de Italia, superabunt Assyrios, vastabuntque Hebræos.'

advanced conditions, to work up from the scanty material which was *ex hypothesi* at their disposal?*

Fact No. 4. If there be one conclusion more certain than another it is this, that every advance of historical and philological and ethnological research brings out correspondencies which involve the historical and sometimes unsuspected accuracy of the ancient record of the 'Law.' Undesigned coincidences only explainable by historical reality; individual character portrayed with exactness, without any mythical attribute of perfection, always consistent under varying conditions, and with a consistency so thorough-going as to give as perfect a representation of historical character as has ever been given, and as surely to imply a contemporary hand in the portraiture; spiritual facts of personal religious progress deeply verifiable in present human experience—point the same moral.

The theophany of the burning bush, with its deep theological significance for the church

* Milman's 'History of the Jews,' I., page 133 : I have great faith in internal evidence which rests on broad and patent facts ; on laws'—and, we might add, histories—'for instance, which belong to a peculiar age and state of society, and which there can be no conceivable reason for imagining in later times and during the prevalence of other manners.'

for all time, is a revelation and a prophecy impossible of invention at all, and still more of after-invention.*

Now, without denying the existence of traditions parallel to writings, all our experiences of oral traditions unsustained by writings teach that it is an insufficient channel of historical accuracy, and tends to legendary accretion, obscuring the proper humanity of national heroes and the unity of God. Is it conceivable that oral tradition should carry down to the compilers, through long ages full of stir and change, a record so fresh and so full of contact with the history of nations, and the world, which yet justifies itself to-day by a cumulative verification? Yet for the greater part of all this, oral tradition is the only source supplied by the supposition we examine.

Fact No. 5. The same compilers, who on this supposition were fairly successful in smoothing the joints and piecings of their historical work, were not so satisfactory in the codification of the law. Abrupt pieces of legislation which arise, often without system, in the midst of historical recitals, which are

* Exod. iii. סנה here only, and in Deut. xxxiii. 16, of which it is an undesigned coincidence of Mosaic authorship. The word is evidently ancient, and means the wild acacia of the desert, from which Sinai probably got its name.—Stanley's 'Sinai and Palestine,' page 17.

full of archaic elements, and which are difficult to harmonize, it is surely likelier to suppose arose in the first instance contemporaneously in the evolution of the history itself, however much they may afterwards have been edited or added to. Their traditional position and ancient contents remain. There is no verisimilitude in the opinion that they owe their origin to codifiers, who lived after ages of civilization, neither hampered nor directed in their arrangement by anything but a simple outline, and traditional custom and usage. Such workers would have reduced the legislation to a more systematic and continuous method.

Father Hardouin of the Jesuit order, about the end of the seventeenth century, became such an authority on medals and coins that he grew to consider himself a master of historical inquiry. At length in one of his works, '*La Chronologie Expliquée par les Médailles*,' he ventured to maintain that ancient history had been entirely recomposed by the monks of the thirteenth century. He was forced to retract his opinions, but, like another Galileo, he remained of the same mind. And in his last work, '*Prolegomena ad censuram scriptorum veterum*,' he again maintained his opinion, less, it should seem, by argument than by bold

assertion. In his view, Virgil's *Æneid*, Horace's *Odes*, and the histories of Livy and Tacitus were the forgeries of the aforesaid monks.

'Our common sense,' says Newman, in his '*Grammar of Assent*' (page 289), 'believes in their genuineness without any hesitation or reserve. But what are the grounds for dismissing thus summarily, as we are likely to do, a theory such as Hardouin's? For, let it be observed first, that all knowledge of the Latin classics comes to us from medieval copies of them, and they who transcribed them had the opportunity of forging or garbling them. Next, it must be considered that the numerous religious bodies had leisure enough to compose not only all the classics but all the Fathers too. The question is whether they had the ability. This is the main point on which the inquiry turns, or at least the most obvious; and it forms one of those arguments which, from the nature of the case, are felt rather than are convertible into syllogisms.'

Taking a broad and comprehensive view of the question, a similar kind of argument has been attempted with regard to the theory that E, J, H, D, and P (even with the assistance of the E², and J², and D², and P² of Canon Cheyne) had the ability with the given material and at the given dates to have composed the Penta-

teuch as we now have it. It is argued that these shadowy and unhistorical creations are set by the critics upon an impossible task. In a word, everything that goes to prove the historical virtue, life, and trustworthiness of the Pentateuch, goes also to prove the theory before us to be untenable.

NOTES.

NOTE A. *Upon the value of Wellhausen's judgment as a guide to scientific history.*

Our present illuminant, gas, has many valuable by-products. But the by-products proceed as essentially from the same dark but useful substance as the final product. If it were different, they would be different ; if they were different, it would be different. To Wellhausen's theory of Judaism there are also valuable by-products : they also proceed from the same factory, are evolved from the same substance, in connection with the same process. The marshalling of the same arguments that constitute the theory gives these the air of calm security they wear. It is not unfair therefore to estimate the balance of critical judgment which is the underlying support of the system by the amount of it displayed in the by-products of it. If there is an error, it is not a mere passing error of judgment, for it was the system of reconstructing history which brought it to birth. The error is symptomatic ; and surely it is not a captious spirit that fixes upon Wellhausen's treatment of the story of Abraham as a proper criterion. To Wellhausen Abraham very probably may be nothing in comparison with the virtues of his own theory ; but to a large number of religious-minded persons

Abraham is still an interest. The Church of God in all ages has been deeply moved by the teachings of his life. The following observations, therefore, of Wellhausen, though found in the comparative obscurity of a note, are not without their serious importance. Complaining of certain commentators who 'merely consider that as the father is older than the son, the story about the father is older than the corresponding story of the son, and so regard Isaac generally as a mere echo of Abraham,' he thus proceeds: 'The obviousness of this principle is too great, and against it we have to consider that the later development of the legend shows a manifest tendency to make Abraham the patriarch *par excellence*, and cast the others into the shade. In the earlier literature, on the other hand, Isaac is mentioned even by Amos; Abraham first (!)* appears in Isa. xl.-lxvi—(that is, according to Wellhausen, after the exile). Micah vii. 20 belongs to the exile, and the words 'who redeemed Abraham' in Isa. xxix. 22 are not genuine; they have no possible position in the sentence, and the idea of the salvation of Abraham (from the fire of the Chaldæans) is of late occurrence. I certainly do not mean to maintain that Abraham was not yet known when Amos wrote, but he scarcely stood by this time at the same stage as Isaac and Jacob. As a saint of Hebron, he might be of Calibite origin and have something to do with Ram (1 Chron. ii.). Abram may stand for Abiram, as Abner for Abiner, and Ahab for Ahiab. The name Abu Ruham occurs in the Hadith as *nomen proprium viri*.'† This last sounds mystic, but might we venture to translate it 'the proper name of an historical and national personage'?

* Do J and E, together with J² and E², know nothing then at all about Abraham? In Driver's analysis the story of Abraham is given to J principally, with E thrown in. J and E were not far from the time of Amos.

† Wellhausen's 'Prolegomena,' page 320.

Now the quintessence of historical perverseness that is gathered together in this note has never perhaps been surpassed. But it is to be noticed that it is no passing and unimportant 'detail or side issue.' It proceeds essentially from the palmary suppositions that are Wellhausen's claim to greatness.

1. The Pentateuch is totally ignored, as proved unhistorical. Even the critical umbrae J and E are ignored also, possibly as being found in bad company.

2. The 'authentic' history of Israel is put together from the occasional hints of the prophets, 'the earlier literature.'

3. Whatever a prophet does not mention did not exist, or existed only in embryo.

4. Whatever does not fall in with a critic's theory is not genuine, is an interpolation.

5. A critic may give any interpretation to any simple, easily intelligible phrase he wills, and afterwards damn it by his own interpretation.

6. Any flimsy, superficial opinion of a critic of the nineteenth century is to be embraced as certain to be more historical than the fresh, verified, and archaic record of the past, which is earlier than the critic, and may be after him. But Abraham the Hebrew, our great ancestor and example, may take heart of grace. He may still have been the Father of the faithful in whom we are all blessed. We are critically unsatisfied; we are favoured first with only a partial account of his name, which further meditation discourages us from accepting; and, in the second place, it seems to us that critical completeness demands a fuller account. 1. Abram, we are told, indicates a relationship to Ram. Now there are two Rams: one is Ram, the Buzite, of Job xxxii. 2; the other Ram occurs only as a name in a genealogy (Ruth iv. 19; 1 Chron. ii.). It is just possible that somebody who 'had something to do with him' might be properly called a Calibite. But it is at least singular that the genealogist

never heard of his being an ancestor or near relative of Abraham ; and the interpretation of the name is unlikely. In only one case does the combination Ab or Abi—which is the same, but with the old case ending—signify personal human relationship, and Abiner or Abner, son of Ner, yet means father of light. Usually it is combined with some term of quality, or the name of God. Abiezer is the father of help ; Abinoam, father of beauty ; Abitub, good father, etc. Abijah means whose father is Jehovah or Jahveh. There is again one possible exception in the name Abimael in the list, Gen. x. 28, which is uncertainly conjectured to be the father of Mael, a tribe of the Joktanites. But Wellhausen would scarcely take Abram to mean father of the tribe of Ram. There are difficulties in the way. The usage of the children of Israel is in favour of its meaning 'high father.' The critical explanation is not likely. 2. It is incomplete. Abram appears before us in the primitive account as Abram the Hebrew (LXX. ὁ περσῆς ; Gen. xiv. 13), so called by the Canaanites as an historical designation of a rich and noteworthy stranger, who had come amongst them from the regions beyond the Euphrates : עברי means trans-Euphratensis. It seems most improbable that this name 'the Hebrew' is patronymic from Eber, but even if it were, would it not come to mean the same thing from the known tendency to alliterativeness, characteristic of the ancient mind—the descendant of Eber that crossed over (Abhar) the Euphrates ; compare 1 Sam. xiii. 7 in the Hebrew, 'the Hebrews crossed over' (ibhrim abhru).^{*} Whichever way we might choose to take it, from the manner of its usage, it is certain we have in this name an historical monument, (1) of the migration of Abram from Chaldaea, the region beyond the great river, the river Euphrates,† and

* Also compare Gen. xv. 2, 'my heir (ben meshek, בִּיתִי בֶן-מֶשֶׁק) is this Eleazar of Damascus (Dammesek).'

† See Josh. xxiv. 2, 3.

(2) of the importance with which he was regarded by his contemporaries in the land where he was a stranger.*

There is a conjecture among the Assyriologists that about Abraham's time there was a great impulse given to the primitive nature worship of the by that time mingled Sumirs and Accadians in the direction of a more positive idolatry and of the establishment of a complete and developed system over all Mesopotamia, whether by Sargon or some other.† Some movement of this kind was the probable moving cause under God, of Abram's migration into Canaan. He migrated probably to preserve the purity of his faith in the one God of Heaven in evil times. The name 'Hebrew' by which both he and his were known in those ancient times is an historical monument both of his migration and of his reputation amongst his contemporaries.

Joshua tells us the same thing from the tradition of his day: 'Your fathers dwelt on the other side (b^e ebher) of the river from old time, Terah, the father of Abraham and the father of Nachor, and they served other Gods' (Josh. xxiv. 2).

In the legend of the revolt of the children of Israel, which is all the Egyptian traditions have handed down to Manetho, the Sebennyte, the Egyptian priest and historian in the third century before Christ, and which is yet full of curious reminiscences and many verified historical statements, the name Hebrew survives.‡ As in Osarsiph we have Joseph, so in Avaris or Auaris (*etc*

* For a probable account of the history that underlies the significant names of Abram's ancestors, Shelach and Eber, in their turn, see Geikie's 'Hours with the Bible,' I., page 264. In them we have a probable hint of their migration from their mountain homes in the far north east into Mesopotamia.

† Lenormant and Sayce in Geikie, I., pages 304, 305.

‡ Given in Rawlinson's Bampton Lectures, page 290.

Ἀβραὺν τὴν προγορευκὴν αὐτῶν πατριᾶ), which is treated as the name of their ancestral fatherland, we have the word Hebrew, just as Joseph uses it when he says in the Egyptian prison, 'I was stolen from the land of the Hebrews.'*

May we not, therefore, hold the opinion that the subject has not received from Wellhausen the exhaustive treatment it deserves?

The historical nature of Abram the Hebrew does not yield readily to this kind of assault.† Possibly the critics, who are at present inclined to allow us a little more of Moses than they used to do, may in time begin to look leniently on Abraham. We may safely leave Abu Ruham in the Hadith.

NOTE B. *The critical 'ipse dixit.'*

As it is generally supposed that the theoretical school of critics are the critics *par excellence*, the only men concerned with Old Testament scholarship who can be said to have weight and acumen, critical sagacity and sufficiency, it may not be without advantage to point out that it is just on the ground of pure criticism that their conclusions are and may be disputed. It is true, indeed, that the careful and sufficient study of the Old Testament has in this country been neglected, and that the careful study of Old Testament documents and Old Testament history, which the theoretical critics lead the way to and throw down the challenge for, may, if fearlessly pursued with religious mind and balanced judgment, be fraught with great benefits to the Church. But the monopoly of the word critic by persons of a certain bias has the danger of all strong self-assertions. People are willing to take them at their own valuation to the detriment of the cause

* Genesis xl. 15.

† The confusion of this Avaris by Manetho with Auaris or Tanis, the capital of the shepherds or Hyksos, does not invalidate the argument.

of truth. There are still patient scholars who are not theorists. It is on critical grounds that the soundness of the theorists' process and results is being debated. Let anyone, for instance, read carefully the masterly treatment which Professor W. H. Green gives to a certain part of Wellhausen's theory in 'The Hebrew Feasts,' published (1886) by J. Nisbet and Co., and they will be convinced that this is so. Stanley Leathes' 'Law in the Prophets,' again, has a bearing upon the question whether P is unknown till the exile. And in truth it might not be unfair very frequently to complain of the absence of the critical spirit in the so-called critical school. Bold assertions of things that are simply possible at best, without any weighing of considerations which have a *per contra* in them and sometimes tend to make them impossible; the neglect of things really interesting and important because of a love for theory-spinning, and the free use of the knife to excise what does not agree with their prepossessions;* the superstition that, in the ruin of so many historical principles, their own work will stand certain and infallible, and a strong leaning to authority when the question is a question of fact—such things as these are not quite the attributes of an entirely critical spirit. And what shall we say of arguing in a circle?† One is tempted to reflect what might not be proved or

* There is an instance on page 177 of Wellhausen's 'Prolegomena' of the use of the critical knife where the material is dead against the theory.

† In Wellhausen's 'Prolegomena,' page 37, there will be found a good example of the circular argument, where the theory that one sanctuary was a late idea having been used to prove the late date of the 'Priestly Code,' the assertion that one sanctuary in the Priestly Code was a projection of the later Temple into the past is brought to prove the non-existence of the Tabernacle. The existence of the Tabernacle is of course dead against the theory.

disproved on the same principles ; but in purely critical questions they are not by any means necessarily to be followed. It may be useful to give an illustration or two of this.

1. There is an expression which occurs for the first time in the book of Exodus, which plainly has a history of ancient custom behind it, because when it first appears it is idiomatic. 'To fill the hand' (Exod. xxviii. 41, xxix. 9 ; Lev. xxi. 10 ; Num. iii. 3 ; and in a peculiar context and special sense, where *kal* not *piel* is used, Exod. xxxii. 29) is an elliptical expression. What the hand is filled with is left out, because the knowledge of ancient, well-understood custom would immediately supply it in the mind of the contemporary. And the historical custom was connected with the initiation and consecration to sacred sacrificial office. The phrase is elliptical, just as 'to cut a covenant' is elliptical, which implies the ancient custom of sacrifice as the essential mediation of an agreement. It is the synonym of consecration, because filling the hand was the accompanying and initial ceremony of setting a priest apart for his sacred office. Just in the same way we are told by Professor Robertson Smith that the Syriac word which means literally 'to cut one's self' comes to mean generally 'to make supplication,' because the ancient custom of cutting one's self was associated by the Syrians with earnest supplication* (1 Kings xviii. 28, the Syrian worshippers of Baal 'cut themselves after their manner'). For the same reason filling the hand comes to mean consecration. And it will be observed that the problem of restoring what is left out—*i.e.*, what the hand was filled with—is conditioned by the necessity that it must have been something which had sacred significance for the old-world mind. Nothing can be more natural than to suppose that the historic custom that underlies the phrase

* Smith's 'Religion of the Semites,' page 303.

was the placing in the hand of the priest to be consecrated some part of the sacrifice or some instrument or vessel used in the sacrifice.* Nor is this easy supposition left unsupported. Lev. viii. 27, 28, giving the account of the consecration of Aaron and his sons, seems to say as much. Wellhausen disposes of all this summarily. 'Originally this phrase,' we are told ('Prolegomena,' page 152), 'cannot have had any other meaning than that of filling the hand with money or its equivalent.'

And upon this basis of false criticism he erects a structure of critical perversity, which it will repay the fair-minded reader to consider. But the 'cannot' is the other way: the thing is critically absurd. The ancient mind referred the idea 'consecration' to the sacrifice and to the act of sacrifice. 'To fill the hand to the Lord' looked Godward, not priestward. Even in modern times the fees of priests have never been properly associated with their consecration; their office is their consecration. And to project modern ideas or prejudices about 'the power and independence of the clergy' into the interpretation of an ancient idiom for consecration is not sound criticism.

2. We are told by Wellhausen that the meaning of the name of the Passover, פסח, 'is not clear.'† Its clearness does not suit his theory, and therefore it is not clear. Professor Green‡ tells us that Professor Robertson Smith says that the corresponding verb denotes 'some kind of

* So Buxtorf sub voce: 'Nata locutio inde, quod tradendo certas partes sacrificiorum in manus sacerdotum, immitterentur sollemniter in possessionem muneris sacrificandi.' So Winer: 'Sacerdotibus novitiis videntur tanquam muneris sacri signum, instrumenta et vasa sacra in manus tradita esse.' So Lee: 'To consecrate to the priest's office by taking certain parts of the sacrifice into the hand.' So Gesenius: 'Sacerdotium ei in manus tradidit.'

† 'Prolegomena,' page 87.

‡ Green's 'Hebrew Feasts,' page 191.

religious performance, apparently a dance'—in 1 Kings xviii. 26 (in *piel*) they leaped upon or by the altar they had made. The root פָּשַׁח, פָּשַׁח, פָּשַׁח, has the sense of going apart or spreading out: פָּסַח עַל means to leap or pass over. פָּסַח is an historical word defined by an historical circumstance, and it is a monument of the circumstance. Wellhausen says the Feast of the Passover was originally an offering of firstlings. We are met by this critical dilemma: If פָּסַח meant a dance at the offering of firstlings, then it was an impossible word for the later idealists P or Q to fix upon in the solemn meaning given to it in Exod. xii. 27; if, on the contrary, it means a 'passing over' and a sacrifice commemorative of it (in the phrase to sacrifice the Passover), then, its meaning being defined by the historical circumstance, it is a witness against the possibility of the theory. It is a monumental word which the history makes clear, but which in turn by its meaning—which will not suit the theory—supports the history.

3. On page 433 of Wellhausen's 'History of Israel' we are informed that 'Jehovah is to be regarded as having originally been a family or tribal God, either of the family to which Moses belonged or of the tribe of Joseph.' The reader is invited to consider by what critical process this conclusion can be sustained, and how it compares with the words of Max Müller (quoted by Geikie, 'Hours with the Bible,' I., 23), 'While all nations over the earth have developed a religious tendency, which acknowledged a higher than human power in the universe, Israel is the only one which has risen to the grandeur of conceiving this power as the One Only Living God. If we are asked how it was that Abraham possessed not only the primitive conception of the Divinity, as He had revealed Himself to all mankind, but passed, through the denial of all other gods, to the knowledge of the One God, we are content to answer that it was by a special Divine revelation.' To make this idea, which is the inspiring conception from the earliest dawn of the history and at every stage of its

development, a projection of a later age into its past is, from a purely critical point of view, to stultify the facts, and not to perceive the significance of the history as a revelation. Israel learned more and more of Jehovah till the fulness of time came.

The Bishop of Colchester has pointed out that it is in favour of the theoretical critics that they are leading an attack. *Élan* and brilliancy are readily attributed by the onlooker to an attacking party. It might also possibly be said that the duller qualities of courage are needed in defence.

NOTE C. *The unreality of the supposed documents or sources. The character and phraseology of P.*

We are invited by the divisive or compilation theories, even as they are exhibited to us by the latest authorities, to believe that the Hebrew ancients were very strange folk. They seem to have been able to tell interesting, great, and important stories with a pathos and beauty never surpassed, never equalled, with all the appearance of ancient times and old-world character ; and yet to tell them ages after by means of, and in the process of, as remarkable a patch-and-botch work as exists—a process itself without parallel or analogy. It is perhaps part of the force of the theoretical critic that the analysis is put forward with all the confidence of assured results and all the panoply of an apparent scientific apparatus. We are taken off our guard : all is so formal and decisive : the authorities have spoken. There is no room for difference of opinion : everything is absolutely certain. It is, as it were, algebra and arithmetic : we may learn it, if we will. But the rude tearing up of a living history, the underlying suppositions, the goal that must be inevitably reached, are hid from us. Perhaps a want of appreciation for the unity and greatness and character of the ancient history is also hid from us. ‘As to the limits of P in Genesis,’ says Professor Driver. ‘there is practically no differ-

ence of opinion amongst critics' (page 9). 'The parts of Genesis which remain after the separation of P have next to be considered' (page 11). 'That P and J E form two clearly definable, independent sources, is a conclusion abundantly justified by the facts. As regards the analysis of J E, the criteria are fewer and less definite' (page 17).^{*} It may be well to look at the result in a few examples, not in the spirit of mere verbal criticism, but to see whether it bears the semblance of reality and likelihood. Authorities are not to be numbered but weighed.

1. Take the deluge account. J and P or Q are the sources. J has Gen. vi. 1-8, vii. 1-10 'in the main' (for we are told with much conscientious accuracy that verses 7-9 include two or three expressions borrowed by the redactor from P, Professor Driver having had apparently a private communication from the redactor to this effect), vii. 12, 16^b-17, 22-23 : viii. 2^b-3^a, 6-12, 13^b, 20-22 : ix. 18-27. The rest, including vii. 6, is P or Q's. Now, anyone that follows this analysis will see that it proceeds upon the assumptions (1) that an ancient writer could not possibly repeat himself in any way, on which it is hoped to say something later, and therefore every repetition must mean a different source ; (2) that Noah could not possibly have remembered and handed on details of time or the dimensions of the ark or the wood (gopher) of which it was made. גפר being akin to, perhaps an older form of עצי-גפר, כפר, some kind of pitchy, resinous wood, as is conjectured, only occurring here in the Old Testament. These things are the historical romance, the formal, precise, circumstantial method of P. (3) That there is no covenant by sacrifice, only a thank-offering, the sacrificial system being projected back by P.

The reader is seriously asked to consider if this account be a true one of the flood ; whether it is at all likely the time of the divided monarchy first recorded it ; and

^{*} It may be remarked in passing that Professor Driver's orthodoxy with regard to E J seems to be in danger, but Colenso is with him.

whether the idea of law and covenant, which was so essentially necessary to the inhabitants of the new world, would be left to the exilic times to insert. These ideas are great ideas, and very necessary for the times of Noah. The history makes them contemporaneous with him.

The following quotation may be taken as evidence beyond suspicion that the deluge is not a myth: 'The occurrence of an ark in the traditions of a deluge found in so many distant times and places, favours the opinion of these being derived from a single source.'* We have an archaic account of an event that took place. Picture to yourself the importance of the event and the depth of its teaching for all time. Consider the old-world type of the simple law, the primitive and lasting importance of the covenant (Gen. ix.). What reality is there in imagining it the priestly semi-invention of the exilic period?

2. Take part of the history of Abraham (Gen. xxii., xxiii.)—the sacrifice of Isaac and the cave of Machpelah. The Elohist is the source for verses 1-14, notwithstanding the most expressive use of Jehovah in verse 14. The Jehovist apparently had nothing of the account but verses 15-18, which immediately presupposes what goes before, and is in most intimate union with it. Verse 19 is Elohist. The most beautiful, archaic, and characteristic chapter (xxiii.), vitally connected with the very soul of the history of Abraham, is handed over to the exilic source. Let any one read chapter xxiii. in the Hebrew or English without a theory in his head and he will find himself in the presence of the very distant past.† Where is the reality of

* Tylor's 'Researches into the Early History of Mankind,' page 332.

† Notice the archaic cast of עֶבֶר לְסֶחֶר (chapter xxiii. 16) in the currency which is according to the travelling merchant, no national or king's currency being existent. Consider also the consistency of character. The fine-minded independency, which refuses the spoils of the

this? Let the reader weigh also the reality of treatment which gives chapter xxi. 1^b, 2^b-5 to P for no reason arising from the text, though P is supposed never to use the word Jehovah. It is theory all.

3. The history of Jacob. In chapter xxvii. (the rest being J), verse 46, which is intensely characteristic of the character of Rebecca, her feeling of strangeness in a strange land, her longing after kith and kin, and her excuse to get Jacob away, is given to P. 'The daughters of Heth' is critically unlikely as the phraseology of P. As it stands, it is most intimately and characteristically connected with the whole story. For no reason whatever but the introduction of historic names and the idea of 'the blessing of Abraham,' xxviii. 1-9 is given to P also. For no reason whatever to J is assigned verses 10, 13-16, 19. The rest is from E, though it contains the name Jehovah in verse 21. The same with the next chapter. He who can see a late composite account in the simple beauty and archaic consistency of this story must have strange eyes. The phantoms of theory must have destroyed the sense of reality.

Genesis xlix. 1^a is given to P, being half a verse, for no reason at all, and 28^b-33, and chapter l. 12-13, for no reason at all except that mentioning what has already been assigned to P, of course itself must be referred to P. The interesting trait of Jacob's desiring not to be buried amongst strangers but in the tomb of his fathers is left out, though it, and it alone, accounts for the journey of Joseph into Canaan in the next chapter. Surely the incidents of the cave of Machpelah are the most natural in the world as they stand, the most unnatural in the world for P to insert. It is the most natural instinct for these early Fathers to desire an inheritance for burial in the strange

King of Sodom, will not be beholden to Ephron. The type of character remains though due allowance be made for the Eastern mode of Ephron's speech.

land. The word Machpelah, the prominence of the children of Heth,* and the name of Ephron the Hittite, were as far removed from the supposed priestly party of the later kings and of rising 'Judaism' as they are from us. They are ideas and names confined to the book of Genesis.

4. The history of Joseph. On page 16 (Driver's 'Introduction') we have a fine example of the spirit of filial obedience to authority with which Professor Driver searches for a double narrative in E and J, whom he confesses in his own mind to be far from distinct. We have also an example of the method which he thinks fair and discriminating for the treatment of an ancient record (Gen. xxxvii. 24-31). In verse 25, while the brethren were eating bread, they lifted up their eyes, and behold, a caravan of Ishmaelites passed by from Gilead, and their camels were carrying spices, and balsam of Gilead, and fragrant gum (𐤇𐤋 here and Gen. xliii. 11 only), and going on their way to go down to Egypt. Then comes Judah's advice not to leave their brother to die of starvation but to sell him. To this advice they consent. It is to be noticed that there is a strong implication that Reuben was, for some reason we are not told of, absent, because they would not have assented without a dissentient word if he had been present. He had a secret plan for delivering him, as we are told (verse 21), and by implication in verse 29. Then follows verse 28. 'And Midianites merchantmen passed by, and they drew and brought up Joseph out of the pit, and they sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver : and they brought him to Egypt.' Now comes the critical acumen of Professor Driver. There are, he says, two accounts in this. One says the brethren sold him to the Ishmaelites; the other says Midianite merchantmen stole him out of the pit. Verse 36 says Midianites sold him in Egypt. Moreover, this second story, says Professor Driver, will account for

* See Sayce's 'Hittites,' page 13.

Reuben's surprise when he went afterwards to the pit and found Joseph gone, for Reuben 'appears clearly' to have been with the other brethren when Joseph was sold. Now, far from Reuben being clearly with the other brethren, it appears as clearly from the implications of the story that he was not with the other brethren. It is also said, for verse 29 begins, 'And Reuben returned.' It is also clear that verse 28 *is* a continuation of verse 27, and that 'they who drew and brought up Joseph from the pit' are the same who sold him, for it immediately follows.

The change from Ishmaelites to Midianites merchantmen is characteristic of the Hebrew mind, which delights in parallelism of epithet. Compare in illustration, 'Israel came into Egypt, and Jacob sojourned in the land of Ham' (Ps. cv. 23). Ishmaelites and Midianites are admitted to be synonyms for the same people, the Arabs.

The expression (Gen. xl. 15) 'For indeed I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews' is no proof of this double record, for Joseph was not likely to inculcate his brothers to an Egyptian stranger, and he might readily have been ignorant that he had been sold for money. This is so good an example of the so-called 'critical' method that it is commended to the attention of the reader. He is further invited to consider the inference derivable from a sentence of Professor Driver's that follows: 'The narrative of Joseph consists of long passages excerpted alternately from J and E, each, however, *embodying traits derived from the other?*'

It is on grounds such as these that we are invited to believe that the history of Joseph existed only as a kernel of a legend, till the times of the early kings, when, by compilation, it became the interesting and affecting history it is. It would perhaps be uncritical, though it might be useful, to notice the undesigned coincidence of the Arab merchants, trading from Gilead, carrying down the materials for embalming to Egypt, the great centre of that art, and to notice that the connection of the history

of Joseph with Egypt is so varied, so detailed, and so verified in the present day, as to suggest even to so unprejudiced a student as Bleek,* that the history of Joseph existed in writing before the time of Moses—and we may add, if this history, why not others?

5. We come now to the exodus. For no reason whatever Exod. i. 1-7 is given to the exilic source, and also for no reason whatever verses 13-14 are given also to P. There is a repetition, which comes in naturally, (1) as the introduction to a new subject, and (2) as an emphatic statement of a serious subject; there is circumstantial statement of certain details; but if the record is the record of facts, where is the reality of bringing in the exilic phantom P? It is really too bad to separate the beautiful pathetic passage, chap. ii. 23^b-25, simply because it mentions the covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob, which already, for no reason whatever, has been ascribed to the inventive and idealising genius of P. We are invited to believe that the great and beautiful idea of a continuous Divine providence was left out of the national mind till about the exile, though it is supplied by chap. iii. 6, as well as 7, 8, which, for no reason whatever, are given to J; the Elohist being the source to the end of verse 6, in which six verses the name Jehovah occurs twice. In Exod. i. 7, which is given to P, occurs the somewhat rare and expressive word שָׂרֵן, which occurs in Gen. i. 21; and of Gen. i. 22 there are verbal reminiscences, which, perhaps, go to prove that Gen. i. to ii. 4 was in written existence when Exod. i. 7 was written. But this really rather characteristic word שָׂרֵן, which is part of the phraseology of P—which only occurs in the Pentateuch, and in one quotation from it in the Psalms, and one in Ezekiel—in Exod. viii. 3 (vii. 28, Hebrew) is given to J, though its use here is precisely in the style and meaning of the other passages, and without

* Bleek's 'Introduction,' I., page 289.

them it would not have occurred here. And D, though written before P, is said to have derived the noun שרין from P, in Deut. xiv. 19.

Perhaps it may be convenient to consider here the meaning and bearing of the 'phraseology of P.' P, with certain exceptions, is the arbitrary grouping together of certain ideas and the words which cluster round these ideas. It is laid down as an absolute certainty, that these ideas could not have existed, save in embryo, in Mosaic or Patriarchal times.* But ideas are necessarily expressed by words, and the words are specialised by the ideas. Hence the phraseology of P. Everything that is not as simple and bald as the preconceptions of the critic conceive very ancient history ought to be, must necessarily be the systematising, formal, circumstantial, statistical, legal mind of the unknown writers of a very late priestly school, with their tendency to idealising and historical romance. The legal, pedantic minds of these people are supposed to be imaginative also. So, behind the phraseology of P is a theory. If the theory falls, 'the phraseology of P' falls also, for the purpose for which it is used. But it remains for another purpose. It shows the intimate connection and progressive motive of a growing revelation and cultus in the Pentateuch.

The supposed school of the priestly code, again, must have been one of the most remarkable theological schools that ever existed. 'P,' says Dillmann, approved by Professor Driver (p. 121), 'nowhere touches the deeper problems of theology. On such subjects as the justice of the Divine government of the world, the origin of sin and evil, the insufficiency of all human righteousness, he does not pause to reflect.' And although he does not pause to reflect upon such subjects, he manifests, according to

* An attempt to meet the assertion that P is unknown until the exile, except in the traditions that are its basis, will be made later.

Dillmann, a Pelagian tendency in Gen. v. 24, and vi. 9. Yet we are left to this school, that does not pause to reflect upon the deeper theology, but is bent upon idealising the theocracy, and at the same time, strangely enough, glorifying 'the kings' that were to come from the 'Abrahamic clan,'—we are left to this school for the invention or discovery of the deepest foundation truths, from which the other truths essentially arise, which they—surely it should be they, not he, 'nowhere touch upon.'

The idea of creation in a wonderful order rising to man, and in a primitive state of innocence and excellence, is P's idea. Surely this implies the justice of God's government of the world. He made to guide. The profound Truth of the nature of man 'in the image of God' is P's idea. But, surely, this is at the very root of the ancient Hebrew idea of sin and of its origin. To sin is to miss the mark that God has set, **חטא**; it is a perturbation of what once was in order, **רשע**; it is a twisting and making awry of something that was once straight, **אול עול**. This is the ancient idea of sin. God-like freedom of nature and will is the root idea of the temptation in Gen. iii. Again, the party of Pelagian bias are the party that emphasise a sacrificial system for the doing away of sin. The idea of 'an everlasting covenant,' which is supposed to be P's idea, is implied in Gen. xv., which, by-the-bye, although it has the name Jehovah frequently throughout is given to the Elohist source. P is supposed to be the first to record the circumcision of Abraham as a covenant rite, though the use of a stone implement in circumcision, in Exod. iv. 25, which is given to the Jehovist, implies, probably, the religious nature and ancient derivation of the rite.* Again, P, who is the most diffuse, treats the most inte-

* See Tylor's 'Researches into Early History of Mankind,' page 214.

resting parts of the history in the barest outline (Driver, page 118).

The arbitrariness with which P is torn from the ancient, continuous record, and the neglect of very ancient historical associations and modes of expression which cry against this treatment, is well illustrated as above, in the history of the cave of Machpelah, which is throughout given to P. Another good illustration is found in the 'History of the Tabernacle-making.' There is a hesitation here about Professor Driver's orthodoxy to his critical authorities, but he is orthodox 'in the main.'

His theory runs thus : There are two distinct accounts of the tent of meeting, which is always and in every place to be identified with the tabernacle. In the account by J E this tent 'is represented regularly as outside the camp, and the general *impression*, derived from the narrative of J E, is that it was simpler in its structure and appointments than the tabernacle of P.* The tabernacle of P was much more elaborate and ornate, and was in the centre of the camp, and never outside it. This sounds very circumstantial, and the accurate references and the supposed character of P clinch the matter. But it is well to investigate how it arises.

(1) The first step is entire contempt for the reality of the history. It is treated as a legend, and even as a legend unfairly ; for there is greater consistency in the legend, if it be legend, than the 'critics' allow.

The book of Exodus in its first chapters introduces us to the beginnings of an ecclesiastical and theocratic polity. The people descended from Israel had spent hundreds of years in Egypt. It is hoped to show later on that their bond of union during that time was family or tribal and not national, that they lived apart from the Egyptians to a great extent, that their life was pastoral

* Driver's 'Introduction,' page 120, note 1.

and agricultural, that their law was village custom, that their religion—a religion of family rites—was not very defined, and tended to become mixed with superstitions, infiltrated from Egypt to some extent, but arising partly from their own pastoral conditions, and partly perhaps from the remains of idolatries, which came from beyond the river, from the Euphrates valley, and inherited from their forefathers. Then, after their Egyptian sojourning, came the oppression and the deliverance. From tribes by joint suffering and joint action, culminating in the Passover feast, they become welded into a nation. Then comes common life in the wilderness and a common law at Sinai.

The subject of the tabernacle for common worship, the ark for the law, the establishment of a national priesthood and ritual is arising, when the critic takes up his parable about the two traditions of the tabernacle. It is a time of transition. Just as the institutions of the Church in the early part of the Acts of the Apostles and in the early times of the Church were inchoate and transitional, so it is here with the Jewish Church. The statutes of the future are being evolved.

(a) The first mention of a tent as an object of importance is of the tent of Moses (Exod. xviii. 7). The tent of Moses had become of chief importance in the camp, like the tent of the general or leader. It is called 'the tent' *par excellence*; but there is no religious association further with it than as the tent of the divinely-sent leader. Jethro and Moses enter into it and converse freely and friendly. With Aaron possibly they eat bread before God in it. This is the first stage of the idea of a tent in the encampment associated with the thought of the deliverance and presence of God, and of religious acts before God connected with it. (b) Then comes the second stage. The national law is given solemnly at Sinai (Exod. xx.-xxiii.) in its simplest form, and upheld by the encouragement to a national spirit in the national

feast laws.* The next thought evolved is the thought of a national faith, sealed by a symbolic ritual and central institutions. The utmost importance is attached to this in the record. Commandments are an impossible burden without faith in the presence and favour of the living God. The people are educated first (Exod. xxiv.) to the idea of representative common worship before visible symbols of God's Presence. There is as yet no tent of meeting, no appointment of a priestly order. In what was probably the extensive plain of Wady Rahah below the mountain (A.V., very strangely 'under the hill'), where the commandments had been given, Moses erects an altar and twelve pillars. Certain 'young men' are sent to sacrifice upon it. The book of the covenant, *already written out*, is associated with the idea of redemption and peace by the sacrifices. And then the representatives of the congregation perhaps go a short distance up the mountain, or go up to the place where the altar is, to eat together the sacrificial meal, the feast of the covenant. And in communion with their sacrificial feast, a symbolic manifestation of God's beauty and presence and favour is given to them; they saw God as Isaiah saw Him. Amongst them was His real presence, not to hurt but to save. They saw Him in vision, and in felt communion with Him they ate and drank. The brightness and beauty of the very heaven was as it had been the consecration of His presence. The idea of representative worship, and before the symbols of the presence of the living God, was given. It was to be embodied in permanent institutions. (c) The next stage is the elaboration of this idea in the mind and intention of Moses during his prolonged sojourn on the mount, spent in thought and contemplation and com-

* The subject of the feast laws and the divisive theory is very fully treated in 'Hebrew Feasts,' by Professor W. H. Green.

munion with Jehovah. The result of this elaboration is given in Exod. xxv.-xxxi. But, in the meantime, the confidence of the tribes, waiting for the return of Moses in the plain, had given way before the length of his absence. He seemed to discredit their faith by his delay.* They made them a calf of gold. (d) Here comes the next reference to 'the tent.' The reader is asked to notice that no tabernacle was in existence. Moses indeed comes down from the mount with his mind full of *plans* for the tabernacle and the other institutions, which in communion with God he had been devising. But in anger at their rebellion, just as he breaks the stone tables of the Commandments, he takes his own tent (LXX. *τὴν σκηπὴν αὐτοῦ*) and sets it at a distance from the camp, and with his mind full of the associations of the projected 'tent of meeting' (Exod. xxvii. 21, *et seq.*, read tent of meeting for 'the tabernacle of the congregation,' A.V.), and to emphasise the teaching of the withdrawal of the favouring presence of Jehovah he named it 'the tent of meeting.' The English reader is misled by the A.V. Exod. xxxiii. 7 should be read 'And Moses taketh the tent' (*i.e.*, the same and only existing tent spoken of in this way, Exod. xviii. 7), 'and setteth it outside the camp at a distance from the camp, and he nameth it the tent of meeting' κ. τ. λ.† The whole of this passage is expressed in the Hebrew so as to indicate the singular importance attached to this symbolic action, and to imply its effect upon an eye-witness. That this is the meaning of the

* Notice the notable expression here and Judges v. 28 only **בַּשָּׁשׁ לָרֶדֶת**.

† 'In the description of past occurrences the imperfect is used to represent an event at the moment of its genesis, and so by seizing upon it while in movement, to picture it with peculiar vividness to the mental eye' (Driver, 'Hebrew Tenses,' page 28).

record seems clear from the fact that at this time, except in the unaccomplished design of Moses, there exists no other tent but his own which could be called 'the tent.' And the people were too much in disgrace for the tabernacle—which is properly expressed by another word, **משכן**—to be so much as begun.

Further, a kind of transitional and additional significance is given to Moses' tent by the name he now for the first time gives it—'the tent of meeting,' a name afterwards given to the tabernacle, in fulfilment of Moses' design. This action of Moses is ratified by Jehovah, by signs following. (*e*) And after the people are reconciled to Jehovah by the solemn intercession of Moses (chap. xxxiv. 9), directions for the tabernacle are given to the few men of talent who are able to construct it, and the tabernacle as an actual structure is begun.

The careful reader will thus observe that the record in every part hangs together, and is progressively subservient to the education of the stiff-necked people, till the ideas which the tabernacle embodies become possible for them to grasp. The 'Tent of Witness,' in Professor Driver's first reference to the supposed different tradition of J E, was not the tabernacle at all. It did not then exist.

(2) The second step in the supposed discovery of two divergent accounts of the tabernacle consists in pressing language into a sense it does not naturally bear. According to Professor Driver, J E is not consistent, because, in Numb. xiv. 44 (J E's account), the tabernacle is within the camp. But, in Numb. x. 33 : xi. 26-27 : xii. 4, it is asserted that J E places the tabernacle outside the camp.

Now, it is at once conceded that in these references, the tabernacle, which has been by this time constructed and consecrated, is certainly spoken of. What is denied, is that the language rightfully interpreted means that its normal place is outside the camp. Let us take the three

references in their order. (a) Numb. x. 33 treats of the conditions of the marching order of the children of Israel. Three days' march, and then a rest. And it is said, 'The ark of the covenant of the Lord went before them three days' journey, or a journey of three days, to seek for them a rest.'

Now, it is contended that (i.) this expression, 'went before them,' does not mean went in front of them outside the camp; and (ii.) that if it had this meaning this order of going has nothing to do with its normal position. What is described is the customary process of breaking up the camp, and the order of journeying. The participle נסע refers clearly to custom, because the usual recited sublime formula of starting and resting is given in verses 35-36. נסע means to pull up the tent-pins. The expression is an elliptical one, for the tent, in which the ark was, being struck 'before them.' And the phrase 'before them,' לפניהם, does not mean at all necessarily in front of them, outside the camp. Its more ordinary meaning is, *in conspectu alicujus, coram*. It is submitted that what is meant is, that the ordinary signal of departure was the striking of the tent in which the ark was *first* that by the ark and its tent carried in order, the camp was guided, and that when they rested, after the usual journey of three days, the tent of the ark was first pitched for the ensuing rest, of whatever time. But if, contrary to what seems to be the meaning of the Hebrew, we were to take it as meaning the ark going first outside the camp, the order of journeying speaks nothing whatever of the normal position of the tabernacle when at rest.

(b) In Numb. xi. 24-30 we are told that Moses and the seventy were gathered round about 'the tent,' but two of their number remained in the camp, engaged in quieting the people by the gift given them of prophesying, and they were not 'coming out' to the tent. This says nothing whatever of the tent being outside the camp. Round the

tent in the midst of the encampment there was a space. Eldad and Medad 'come not out' into it, but remain amongst the tents of the people, exhorting and encouraging them. There is no more reason for saying that 'come out' means outside the encampment, than for saying that, in Numb. xvi. 12, 'we will not come up' means that Moses was then upon a mountain.

(c) Exactly the same observation applies to Numb. xii. 4, when 'come out ye three to the tent of meeting' means coming out from the tents in which they encamped into the central space. In neither case does the phrase 'outside the camp,' of Exod. xxxiii. 7, or anything like it, occur.

The supposed divergent tradition of J E therefore entirely disappears upon fair examination.

(3) But there remains the *impression* produced upon Professor Driver that the supposed divergently described tabernacle of J E was less elaborate and ornate than the supposed tabernacle of P. A few simple considerations will, it is hoped, show conclusively that this impression cannot arise from the text of the record. To constitute this impression we are treated to a singular piece of criticism. It is supposed that before Exod. xxxiii. 7-11 (the account of Moses' symbolic prophetic action with regard to his own tent, which has been treated above)—that before this passage, doubtfully given to J E, there stood in the original J E, or some other, a different account from that which we have of the 'construction of the tent of meeting and the ark, which was no doubt the purpose to which the ornaments (Exod. xxxiii. 4-6) were put.*' Now, a more impossible criticism could not be put forward. If the whole thing were a legend it would be still impossible. Far from there being 'no doubt' that the ornaments mentioned (ver. 4-6) were put to the purpose of the construction of the tent of meeting and the ark,

* Driver's 'Introduction,' page 35.

the thing is absurd. It is to be noticed, that one of the most serious moments of the history is treated with absolute contempt as a legend; but even so, the criticism offered is out of the question. In verses 4-6 the ornaments of the people were ordered to be put off as an act of national abasement and mourning for a great sin. 'And the children of Israel stripped themselves of their ornaments by the Mount Horeb.' We are invited to see in this passage all that remains of the traditions of a joyful preparation for the supposed different tabernacle of J E, in the very bare and simple account of it ascribed to J E. But we have seen that this divergent account of J E exists only in the pure imagination of the critic. Exodus xxxiii. 7-11 does not refer to the tabernacle at all. It did not then exist. And it would only be charitable to imagine that it really does not exist even in the imagination of the critic to confound the story of a deep abasement with the supposed lingering tradition of an imaginary second account of a joyful preparation. It will be noticed that Professor Driver's estimate of the amount of those ornaments stripped off, as compared with the supposed P's statement of the materials for his supposed tabernacle, which were offered willingly, is the origin of his impression. Thus, when analysed, Professor Driver's conception of the supposed different tabernacle of J E is found to arise from a purely baseless and critically false impression brought to bear upon a structure not to be found in the Hebrew text, but created by his own imagination. This is not criticism. The Hebrew text is consistent. The deep, great motive of the history progresses and develops. All its parts are subservient to one end. The repetitions in the account arise from the supreme importance attached to the teaching and symbolism of the tabernacle, and rightly attached. It is the central standard of a national faith in the living God. First comes the elaboration of Moses' great design in com-

munion with Jehovah on the Mount (Exod. xxv.-xxxii.). Then the sin of the people postpones the work, and after a period of abasement they are reconciled by the intercession of Moses (xxxiii., xxxiv.). Then Moses invites the willing offerings of the people, and the material brought is committed to the two artificers, who were able to work it up and to take the oversight of the other workers to carry out Moses' design. They construct the tabernacle and the ark according to this design; and when all is finished, the tabernacle is for the first time erected with solemn rites of consecration (Exod. xxxv. to the end). But there is no need to labour this point, for the consistency of what is supposed to be P's account is shown by Professor Driver. Where, then, is the reality of cutting up this most consistent, impressive, and edifying story, and transferring all the tabernacle part to the times of the exile, leaving only a purely imaginary account, which in no sense exists at all, to the times of the later kings?

The truth is, this is not criticism. The theory of Wellhausen is behind it. By a process peculiar to himself, he conceives that he has proved that the tabernacle never existed at all. It is in his supposition a purely imaginary structure projected back into the times of Moses by the exilic priestly school, who remembered the temple of Solomon. It will not at present be possible to discuss this theory; but it will be necessary to point out what the critic entirely ignores and passes over. The materials which this priestly school projects into the past, as brought for the construction of the tabernacle, are not materials with which their priestly mind, conversant with the temple of Solomon, is familiar. The materials are perfectly natural in an historical account. They are materials derived either from Egypt or from the desert. The people had just come from Egypt; they were in the desert. Linen, which was an Egyptian product, precious stones and metal ornaments, and metal

looking-glasses, given to them (not, as A.V., 'borrowed by them') from the Egyptians, weaving and embroidery, and dyes, learned from the Egyptians. These materials were very natural to a people just come under the given conditions from Egypt. In the desert, and from the Red Sea came the wood of some form of acacia, with which the desert abounded more than it does now,* and the skins of seals, or dugongs, a kind of seal found on the Red Sea, or 'sea of weeds,' used by the ancients as the outer covering of tents. Their own flocks supplied the rams' skins, which they dyed red. The materials and construction of the tabernacle were much more simple than it pleases the critics to allow. There is no wood familiar to Palestine or coming from the Lebanon; no wood of the fir, the olive, the cedar, the almug-tree, as used in building the Temple. P was singularly fortunate in the choice of material. It all looks so historical, and has the flavour of the distant past. שטים occurs only in Exodus, and in a retrospective passage in Deut. x. 3, and is the acacia of Egypt and Arabia. שטה occurs in Isa. xli. 19. תהש occurs only in Exodus and Numbers, exclusively in reference to the tabernacle; and in one other passage, of shoe-leather, in Ezek. xvi. 10, in a description of goodly women's raiment. It is judged very clearly to be a generic term for seals and dugongs. Gesenius thinks it may also include the badger (A.V.), but other people think this doubtful. Sealskins were anciently used for the winter tents of soldiers.†

These words the ancient translators did not understand. Perhaps it is a curious coincidence that שטים and תהש do not appear in the list of the phraseology of P (Driver's 'Introduction,' page 123). It is possible they

* Stanley's 'Sinai and Palestine,' pages 20-25. The trade of charcoal-burning and other influences have thinned their numbers.

† Geikie's 'Hours with the Bible,' II., page 292.

were observed not to suit the argument. It is certain that in the supposed P alone (with the above two exceptions) do they occur.*

Attention, in passing, is invited also to the Egyptian origin or 'mediation' of much of the design of Moses for the tabernacle. The reader's attention is also earnestly asked for the consideration that, if the supposed P was author of the record of the tabernacle making, P is convicted of much more than pious fraud. The ascription of the tabernacle in every respect to the immediate design of Moses is much too express and repeated. P, if he existed, gained reception for his legislation by deliberate falsehood.

6. Although the subject of this note is a seductive one, it is feared that it would unduly lengthen it to take any more than two other examples. The first of these two shall be the theory of differing accounts of the plagues (Exod. vii. 14—xi. 10). It will not be possible to consider this passage without a review of some things that go before it, which notably make plain the spirit in which the 'critical' inquiry is being carried on. Signs are not wanting again of entire contempt for the record. It is treated as legend. The critic sees neither pathos, nor greatness, nor reality in the story. His mind is bent on searching for proofs of his J and E and P. This is a conclusion gathered from following out Professor Driver's analysis and his own comments. We are told

* Repetitions take place in the supposed P's account of the tabernacle of precisely the same order as suggest a different account to the acumen of the critical mind in other places. It may not be possible to give a satisfactory account of the omissions and different order of the LXX. in Exodus xxxv.-xl. But it may be suggested that it is carelessness in the Egyptian MS. or MSS. which the LXX. used. The text of the Samaritan Pentateuch is the same as the received Hebrew text.

(on page 22) that the continuation of Exodus vi. 1 is vii. 14. The intervening passage (vi. 2 to vii. 13) is P's different and inconsistent account of the *same* things as have been recorded by J and E in the parallel, and in some respects contradictory, account (iii. 1 to vi. 1). Now, it is not possible to hold this opinion with any respect for the historical reality of the record. Let us take seriatim what are said to be the parallels and the discrepancies of these two supposed accounts of the same thing.

(1) In one account Moses and Aaron are said to have been favourably received by the people (iv. 30, 31); in the other Moses is said not to have been received by them at all (vi. 9). This, in Professor Driver's view, is an inconsistent parallel account. Now, only contempt for the historical character of the record can admit of its being so. What has been the spiritual experience of many a Christian person was realised by the families of the children of Israel. The promise and awakening of deliverance was succeeded by the increased bitterness of a final struggle. They had received Moses and Aaron as messengers of God's deliverance: in their sorrow and in their hope they bowed their heads and worshipped. Then Moses and Aaron seek an audience of Pharaoh and are repulsed. Instead of any relief being granted, the tasks of the Hebrews are increased by the refusal of straw for the brick-making, in which they were then engaged, and so their toil and their affliction was doubled. Moses and Aaron seemed to have more than failed. They seemed to have interfered simply to increase their burdens. But it is not so really. Again God renews to Moses His assurance of coming deliverance (vi. 2-9). Moses, who has himself been stirred to impatience by the apparent result of what he had done, conveys to the people this reassurance. And as to-day in London to the overworked and underpaid words of promise and of grace seem to have lost their meaning, so it was for the children of Israel then. They, whose

tasks were redoubled, and for whom deliverance seemed farther than ever, 'hearkened not to Moses for anguish' (or impatience) 'of spirit and cruel bondage.*' This is no parallel account of the same thing as iv. 27-31. The circumstances are different; the occasions are not the same.

(2) Again, we are told, 'that though the revelation and commission contained in vi. 2-8 might in itself be treated as a repetition of that in chapter iii., its different style points to P as its source.' Here we have a very significant instance of the meaning of the style and phraseology of P. The time is a time of stress and crisis. Moses himself, with a sense of his mission almost broken by a long exile in the wilderness, and now roused to the extreme of impatience (Exod. v. 22, 23) by the apparent mischief which has resulted from his work, needs the greatest encouragement. It is given him by the style of God's reassurance reverting to the immemorial promises given in many repetitions to each of the patriarchs in turn, and familiar to Moses himself. It is just *because* the style and wording calls up the long-continued promises of the past that Moses is encouraged to go on. This covenant and promise which God gave to a thousand generations is farther the root and cause of the genealogies of Exod. vi. 14-26 and elsewhere. It is the seed of promise that is to be delivered: and in the solemn repetitions and refrains of this passage—the style of the supposed P—we read the importance of that which is to follow. The promise is about to be realized. The style of the Hebrew historian is stirred by the continuity of the promise, the excitement and contrasts of the crisis, the hesitation and

* May it not be possible also that the absence of Aaron in this crisis for a time may be a slight mark of the same want of moral courage which appears again later when popular influence causes him to make the golden calf (Exod. xxxii.)?

human weakness of the instruments employed and the greatness of their call, the powerlessness of man and the power of Jehovah. It is also noteworthy in passing that the characteristic word סבלת, burdens, which only occurs in the Bible at all, Exod. i.-vi., is given in Exod. i. 11 and ii. 11 to E, in Exod. v. 4, 5 to J, and here, in Exod. vi. 6, 7, to P. And we are again invited to believe that the covenant and promise which is about now to be established is all along the semi-invention of P about the time of the exile.

(3) But there are other inconsistencies in these supposed parallel accounts which we are told point to their being parallel. (a) It is not possible, in Professor Driver's view, that Aaron should be appointed in a similar relation to Moses with regard to approaching Pharaoh (vii. i.) as he was with regard to his approaching the people (iv. 14-16). The reader is left to judge of this for himself. (b) Moses says of himself, in vi. 12, 'Behold, the children of Israel have not hearkened unto me, how then shall Pharaoh hearken unto me, who am of uncircumcised lips?' That is to say, his second message to the children of Israel after their burdens were increased, and its disregard, do not encourage him to go again to Pharaoh, with whom he in the first interview signally failed. Like many another he started with too great self-confidence (Exod. ii. 11-15); now his confidence is not enough. And after one discouragement with Pharaoh and another with his own additionally afflicted people, his want of confidence returns. Here is no parallel inconsistent account, but one very natural to our experiences of human character. (c) But his *à priori* reason for want of confidence is different, alleges Professor Driver, in vi. 12, 30 from what it is in iv. 10-13. There he says, 'O my Lord, I am not eloquent, neither heretofore nor since Thou hast spoken unto Thy servant, but I am heavy of speech, and heavy of tongue'; whereas here, in v. 12, 30, he says 'I am of uncircumcised lips.' 'It is scarcely possible,' says

Professor Driver, 'that Moses should allege this different *à priori* ground.' But, surely, far from it being 'scarcely possible,' it is a fact that he does this. Furthermore, for this fact a good reason may be given. Between these two speeches of Moses much has happened. The incident, by the way (iv. 24-26), has enforced the religious importance of circumcision. The renewal of the covenant of the Fathers, and his institution as the leader and champion of it, have enforced the holiness of the cause which he is to undertake. At the time of his former speech, the long silence in the desert far from the stir of nations, made him feel a strong physical and mental inability for his task. But in his later speech, after another sudden outburst of the impetuosity and impatience of his natural character, which he had almost overcome (chap. v. 22, 23), he manifests a feeling of his inability for his high calling from the religious and spiritual side. He feels himself not only heavy of speech, but of uncircumcised lips also. He is touched by a sense of unworthiness for so high a calling.

Instead of a discrepancy, we have a deeply interesting undesigned coincidence. The workman under the training and discipline of Jehovah is now fitted for his task. He is humble enough to undertake it.

(d) Finally, the sign of the serpent given to the people (chap. iv. 1-5, 29, 30) is supposed by Professor Driver to be the same as the sign of the reptile before Pharaoh (vii. 8-13), though the occasions and the words are quite different. In chap. iv. the word for serpent is נָחָשׁ, the generic name for serpents; in chap. vii. the word for serpent is תָּנִין, probably meaning a reptile or serpent of larger size—as Driver himself points out.*

* It is highly probable that this sign had an importance and significance to the ancient Egyptian and to the children of Israel in Egypt which we find hard to readily appreciate. See the picture of Thoth, the god of

The reader is invited to consider whether all this is criticism.

Let us turn, then, to the narrative of the plagues. It may be prefaced that there is a very considerable stamp of reality about the plagues as happening in Egypt. Our recent advances in knowledge of Ancient Egypt show them to have the clearest bearing upon the gods, upon the customs and prejudices, upon the habits of thought, and upon the conditions of climate and seasons of Ancient Egypt. The plagues were but an enhancement and miraculous concentration of disasters which Ancient Egypt was exposed to.* They were peculiarly fitted to bring Egyptian pride and Egyptian trust in idols down to the ground. They were in themselves cogent arguments. But the life-like story of them, so entirely wanting in the egotism or national assertion which was characteristic of antiquity, so simple and truth-seeming in style, is handed over by the 'critics' to two writers in North and South Palestine, five or six hundred years after they took place, and to a school of writers about four or five hundred years later than that. To do this, the literary phalanx of the argument appears formidable. 'The grounds of the analysis,' says Professor Driver (pages 23-25), 'depend, in the first instance, upon literary criteria.' But then, after that, there are traces of a 'series of *systematic* differences relating to four distinct points.' And then, after P is so divided from J E, and the account treated as legend, and not

speech and eloquence, the spokesman of the gods, with a staff or caduceus and a serpent twisted round it, in 'Signs and Wonders in the Land of Ham,' page 30 (copied from Wilkinson).

* This is well brought out in a short passage in Stanley's 'Lectures on the Jewish Church,' I., page 104; more at length in Geikie's 'Hours with the Bible,' II., page 115; and in 'Signs and Wonders in the Land of Ham,' Millington, published by Murray.

fairly so, we are told that E and J, so often a crux to Professor Driver, come in this instance nicely asunder. Further, P and J E manifest, we are told, all the characteristics with which they are severally credited throughout the Pentateuch ; but P is not given very much to do.

Let us consider this matter a little nearer :

(1) First come the 'literary criteria.' Places where mention is made of Aaron by himself ; where the subject-matter requires some allusion to detail, and that detail often singularly Egyptian in cast ; where the beginning of the institution of the Passover is set forth with its fitting solemnity ; where occur the phrases, 'Moses and Aaron did so, as the Lord commanded,' 'As the Lord had said,' are given to P. These are indications of the systematic, pedantic, legal mind of P. J is more flowing, picturesque, more full of dialogue. Of course, if you take the dialogues and flowing, picturesque parts from P, and assign them to J, J will have these characteristics, just as P will be without them. Unfortunately, in one place (Exod. viii. 15) J has the exceedingly natural formula, 'as the Lord had said,' in the conclusion of the account of the plague of frogs. Now, J could never be so formal. So it is given to P, though to give it to P is a plain critical absurdity. But this arises in the sequel, that the threatening of the last plague and its accomplishment is given to J. This is the great reason of the Passover, in the law of it assigned to P. But P, though he gives the reason, knows nothing of the plague, and J, though he gives the plague, only incidentally alludes to the reason for the Passover, to which he alludes as something spoken of before (Exod. xii. 21). The word **מִקְוֵה** 'reservoir' is given to P, and only occurs in three places in the Bible at all—all in the supposed P. But then it is not a constantly recurring word, and is very natural to its context in each place. All mention of magicians and their enchantments is given to P here, but mention of the Egyptian magicians is given to J in the time of Joseph

(Gen. xli. 8-24). The association of Aaron with Moses is given here to P, but in Exod. iv. 14-16, and v. 1, 20, it is given to J. It is to be specially noticed furthermore that in this last matter of the association of Moses and Aaron, there is an undesigned coincidence in the narrative. As Moses grows more confident in his mission by its success, so Aaron tends very naturally and characteristically to the background, because the need of him is less felt. These are the 'literary criteria ;' and if Professor Driver, *mutatis mutandis*, will apply the same literary criteria to the History of Gibbon, he will have the great opportunity of being the first to make the brilliant discovery that Gibbon's history is not by one author. And this may be done with great force, from the point of view of systematic theological differences. He may also find the same in many other historians. It only requires a little time and industry to do great things in this line.

(2) We come now to the 'series of systematic differences relating to four distinct points': (a) The first distinct point of systematic difference is, that in P there is a co-operation of Aaron with Moses, but in J Moses goes to Pharaoh alone. Now this point is already met in principle. It remains to meet it in detail. Even as the accounts are supposed to be assigned, it is not altogether true. The supposed systematic difference arises thus. Moses and Aaron are conjoined throughout ; but the instrumentality of Aaron is used principally in the first sign and the first three plagues. After the third plague, owing, as we may justly infer, to the growing confidence of Moses, Aaron recedes into the background. And he recedes into the background as much in the account of the sixth plague which is given to P (notice Exod. ix. 8, 10, 11, 12—P's account)—as he does in J's account. But because to P is given part of the account of the first three plagues, and of the sixth only, the balance of the prominence of Aaron is in P's account.

This is owing to the consistency of the history to truths which are characteristic of human nature.

(b) The second distinct point of systematic difference is that in P 'No demand is ever made of Pharaoh; the plagues being viewed rather as signs or proofs of power than as having the practical object of securing Israel's release.' In J 'a formal demand is uniformly made.' Now, to this a twofold answer may be made: (1) It is to stultify the whole of Exodus, P or J alike, to think that anybody could have two opinions as to the object of the plagues, whether he were J or P. What was the object of Moses' mission? (2) The systematic difference is of the critic's own creation. If it is a 'formal' demand it ought to belong to P, because P is formal. But if you allow no place to P where there is a formal demand, you cannot expect to find any. At the same time, you are stultifying the P document. For the P document must come to some demand from Pharaoh, 'formal,' or other. For what is the purpose of P's recording some of the plagues if he does not suppose himself to be telling the story of Israel's release from Egypt? Further, it is of the very consistency of the record that the demands upon Pharaoh, as the plagues proceed, increase in emphasis and detail. This is quite natural. Now, to P is given part in the first plagues; the last part of the story is left entirely to J and E. Hence the increased emphasis and detail occur in the supposed J and E.

(c) The third distinct point of systematic difference is the manner of the supposed respective accounts of the plagues. P's account is said to be short and dry, and contains the account of the magicians (concerning which see above). J, on the contrary, is diffuse, picturesque, and full of refrains and set phrases: 'Thus saith Jehovah' (said to Pharaoh), 'Let My people go'; נחש, in Exod. vii. 15, which is simply a reference to the foregoing use of the staff before the people of Israel, instead of supposed P's תני later on, on a different occasion (con-

cerning which see above); 'behold,' with participle—'Thou, thy people, and thy servants'; 'God of the Hebrews'; 'to intreat'; 'to sever'; the end or object of the plague stated. This systematic difference, again, is the pure creation of the critic. P is given a bald, short account of the plagues. The record is perfectly consistent and continuous. Wherever colouring and dramatic elements occur, these are attributed to J. The difference of phraseology is simply brought about by the need of the historian for the words to express the facts that are recorded. It is, however, to be carefully noticed that J is allowed to have refrains and set repetitions of phrases as well as P.

(d) The fourth distinct point of systematic difference is, that P uses the word חֹזֶק ('to be strong'), of the hardening of Pharaoh's heart, whereas J uses the word כָּבֵד ('to be heavy'), and uses the word מֵאֵן ('to refuse' to let the people go). Now, surely, in view of the well-known love of the Hebrew mind for parallelism of expression, this is critical trifling. Is it to be supposed impossible for one and the same writer to lighten his subject by using synonymous words in any language, much more in the Hebrew, which abounds in this style?*. Moreover, the word חֹזֶק, supposed to be P's word, occurs in Exod. ix. 35; x. 20, 27; xi. 10, as well as in the preceding iv. 21, which are all given to E. So that out of the same account of the plagues, P's systematically different word occurs four times in Kal, six times in Piel, and once in a participle of Piel—eleven times in all. And of these eleven times of the occurrence of this P's systematically different word, five times are given to E. This some-

* It is further to be noticed carefully that in two places, Exod. vii. 3 and xiii. 15, *another* word yet is used of this 'hardening' of Pharaoh's heart. קָשָׁה. Chap. vii. 3 is given to P, xiii. 15 to J.

what inconsistent result is reconciled by Professor Driver's alleging what he supposes to be a characteristic difference. He says P always uses the following phrase—'And he hearkened not unto them, as Jehovah had spoken'; but he omits to notice that in the first place of E (ix. 35) the record runs, 'The heart of Pharaoh was hardened (וַיִּחַזֵּק) neither would he let the children of Israel go, *as Jehovah had spoken* by Moses,' where we have P's supposed refrain pretty nearly. Now, all this can only charitably be supposed to be a kind of critical nugæ.

It is, further, to be carefully considered that although the account of the plagues given to P is very brief and dry; yet in this brief space is found an expression which is said to be characteristic of J's account—'Behold'—with the participle (Exod. xiv. 17). So much for Professor Driver's 'series of *systematic* differences relating to four distinct points.'

A piece of criticism in a note on page 23 (Driver) is so instructive that it were well to notice it. 'Aaron, if he appears at all, is only Moses' silent companion' (that is, in the supposed J E). 'In x. 3 it is doubtful if the plural "and they said" is original. Notice at the end of the speech (ver. 6^b) and *he* turned.'

So the text is to be altered to suit Professor Driver's theory. But the matter is very easy. As has been shown, it is an undesigned coincidence in the narrative that as the plagues advance and Moses' want of confidence wears away, so there is a clear tendency, both in J E's supposed account and also in P's supposed account, for Moses to come more to the front and feel less of his need of Aaron as an intermediary. But the critical emendation suggested seems to be self-destructive. In verse 3 we have 'Moses and Aaron came unto Pharaoh and said unto him,' then follows the speech. Now, it clearly cannot be Professor Driver's intention to lead us to suppose that Moses and Aaron delivered the speech both together,

after the manner of a recitation in a board school. Either Moses or Aaron was the speaker, and probably it was Moses, owing to the steadily growing prominence of Moses through chapters viii. and ix. Then, at the end of the speech, we find, 'And he' (*i.e.*, probably Moses, though it is not said) 'turned himself, and went out from Pharaoh' (ver. 6^b)—that is, the speaker turned himself and went out, doubtless followed by his companion, who has not taken so prominent a part in the interview. But there is no need of critical emendation here. It is a mode of expression which is quite natural and allowable. The 'they said' of verse 3 simply implies a common mission in which one, in the nature of the case, must have been the spokesman. (3) It remains to notice the literary criteria which are supposed to separate J and E (pages 24, 25). We have to go back to Exod. iv. 17, 18, 20^b, 21, which on page 21 'are assigned to E on account of their imperfect connection with the context.' 'Chap. iv. 17 speaks of "*the signs*" to be done with the rod, whereas only one sign to be performed with it has been described (ver. 1-9). Chap. iv. 21 mentions wonders to be done before Pharaoh, whereas verses 1-9 speak only of wonders to be wrought for the satisfaction of the people.' Now, this is a most noteworthy and instructive piece of 'criticism.' It simply comes from an attitude of mind for which the record can have no historical reality, because the theoretical prepossessions of it are merely bent upon searching for J and E. Grant the reality of the story and the reasoning disappears. In iv. 1-6 Moses is taught the use of the staff as a sign to the people. If they will not hearken to the voice or message of the first sign, he is to do others (ver. 7-9). But the exact falling out of the future is not before Moses. It by no means appears whether he will have to do the signs more than once, or how, or where. So verse 17 runs 'And thou shalt take this staff in thy hand, with which thou shalt do the signs' (*i.e.*, the sign-accomplishing staff as often as events render neces-

sary). Where is there anything unnatural in this for one and the same account? Again, it is true that verses 1-9 only speak of signs to be done before the people because the people are in the nearest horizon. But when Moses starts on the journey to Egypt actually, and drawing nearer, his mind is full of the great task that lies before him, we read (ver. 21), 'And Jehovah said to Moses, In thy going to return into Egypt behold (or consider) all the wonders (or marvels) which I have put in thy power and which thou shalt do before Pharaoh'—*i.e.*, think not of thine own weakness but of My power. And, lest any apparent want of success should discourage, Jehovah adds 'and I (I emphatic) will harden his heart.' The word in verses 1-9 is **אֲתוֹת**, 'signs'; the word here is **מִפְתִּים**, a stronger word, 'wonders' (from **יָפָה**, 'splenduit'). Now, though this word **מִפְתִּים** occurs with **אֲתוֹת** of the wonders done in the land of Ham, it is never used of the 'signs' before the people. It is stronger in its meaning, just as **תַּנִּין**, the serpent of the sign before Pharaoh, is a stronger word than **נָחָשׁ**, the serpent of the sign before the people. Professor Driver speaks of 'wonders' mentioned in verses 1-9, but this is not so, the word 'wonder' does not occur in verses 1-9. Now, all this in chapter iv. is very natural, and does not imply two writers. The people are the nearer horizon of Moses, but the further and more difficult horizon is Pharaoh and the Egyptian nation. Hence the consistency of the record.

'Further,' says Professor Driver, 'in the existing narrative verse 19, from its contents, is not fitted to be the *sequel* of verse 18; it, in fact, states an alternative ground for Moses' return into Egypt.' Verse 18 speaking of Jethro, and E being given all about Jethro, therefore verse 18 is E, verse 19 is J. And E having the rod before, it is good to include the little piece verse 20^b which speaks of the rod like verse 17. So E is settled, and also J. Let us look a little closer at this. It is an undesigned coincidence in the record that Moses does not give to Jethro at the time a

reason for his return to Egypt, which he would not have understood, and would certainly have attributed to madness. Moses gave Jethro a reason which was at once true and intelligible to *him*. 'Let me go and return unto my brethren which are in Egypt, and see whether they be yet alive.' And in the next verse (ver. 19) Moses, or whoever wrote the account, adds the reason which made this return, in view of the Egyptian law, at all possible, and which was conveyed then, or probably before, to Moses. It is given here because it comes appropriately to the context. 'Moreover, the Lord said, or moreover the Lord had said, Go, return into Egypt, for all the men are dead that sought thy life.' This is no alternative reason for Moses' return. The reason is here given which makes any return at all possible, and which, either at this time, or more probably before, Jehovah showed to Moses.* If this be the fact, then verse 19 is manifestly not unfitted to be the *sequel* of verse 18, and the intrusion of J in between two little bits of E is incompatible with any regard for the reality of the story.

But the two little bits of the record given to E involve Moses' rod; yet the *raison d'être* of the rod being taken at all is given to J. So J records the reason of the rod. E introduces the rod as something known, without any reason going before. Yet upon these slender bases is

* 'In the use of γ conversive, the writer may, if he please, suffer himself to be guided by association in *thought* rather than by association in *time*. He may thus prefer to mention some fresh fact in the connection in which it rises before his mind, trusting to the reader to assign it to its proper position as regards the rest of the narrative. Thus we sometimes find, first of all, an event described generally, as a whole, and then some detail accompanying or connected with its occurrence appended afterwards by γ ' (Driver's 'Hebrew Tenses,' page 90).

built the literary criterion which allots E's part of the narrative of the plagues. E calls the rod 'the rod wherewith thou shalt do the signs' (Exod. iv. 17). Now, a perfectly natural reason of the plural in this verse has been given. But Professor Driver says the use of the plural introduces a new idea of E's on the subject. E wishes, in contradistinction to J, to use the rod, not for J's sign for the people, but in bringing on the plagues upon Egypt. Hence, wherever the rod is made use of in relation to a plague, there is E's account of the plagues; because he indicates his design of so introducing the rod in this verse (ver. 17), which has been given to him without reason, and which apparently has no such significance at all. The use of the rod in the plagues is, however, allowed to P.

Surely this is marvellous criticism! Surely the symbolic use of the rod in the later story is quite compatible with a homogeneous record. A real history is not to be bound by *à priori* ideas of what it might or ought to be. Even if the plural **אִתּוֹ**, 'signs,' in verse 17 does apply to the plagues, is it outside our conception of Jehovah's knowledge that He should know further uses to which the rod was to be put? These words are given to Him. To give certain passages to E on such grounds as these, supposing the story to be connected, as most legends even are connected, is not literary criticism. By such means as these E is given, moreover, the entire account of the ninth plague.

Now, the history of the plagues is both homogeneous in itself and it advances to a climax. The plagues or strokes of God grow in severity. If they occurred as facts, it is as clear that they must have had the deepest impression upon the people that were redeemed by them, as it is clear in the repeated assurances of psalm and story they, in fact, had. The Church of God has never regarded them as legend. The doctrine of the living God, which they convey, is too worthy, too precious, too assimilated

to all His other dealings, for the Church ever so to regard them. The record, on the face of it, is simple, natural, and eminently truth-seeming, and must, if true, have been recorded soon after the event. But even *if* we suppose the account to be legend, it is clearly connected, and rises to the climax of deliverance. It is clear that everybody knew that there were ten plagues related in purpose. E would never have had the sole knowledge of one. And whether in legend or in record of history, the patchwork way in which the critics assert it to have been compiled will, if the reader will give it close and unprejudiced attention, appear quite incredible. For legend never arose so. The story is connected, and has made deep impression upon a nation's character. No one would have attempted to set about recording it in the piecemeal fashion of J and E and P. There is not the slightest evidence to be given why interest first arose in writing this story about the time of the divided monarchy, and why some of the most important parts of it were told five hundred years after that.

It is a further fact to be weighed, that the absolute manner in which Professor Driver indicates the limits of J and E is obedience to authority, and does not accord with his own feeling in the matter. There is a striking discrepancy, for instance, between the absolutism of the remark on page 21, of 'chap. xviii. undoubtedly belonging to E,' and the remarks on page 109, where he expresses the doubt as to 'having done rightly in distinguishing J and E' at all. He there seems to lean to a desire to make the whole Pentateuchal record later than the supposed J and E. The absolutism all along expressed is merely an acquiescence in the authority of Wellhausen, Dillmann, and Jülicher (page 25), and Kuenen.

The point as to E's use of חִזַּק, of the hardening of Pharaoh's heart, has been already considered. Attention is drawn, in passing, to a remarkable piece of criticism

further on in Exodus xiv. 10. The latter part of the verse which tells of the armies of Pharaoh approaching in pursuit is given to E. It runs, 'And the children of Israel cried out' (יִצְעֲקוּ), a strong word for earnest crying out) 'unto Jehovah.' This little piece, which intervenes between two little pieces of J, and contains the word 'Jehovah,' is given to the Elohist, who prefers the name Elohim of God. The word יִצְעֲקוּ, which simply expresses the idea required, has been given to J in other places of the Pentateuch.

Before turning from the account of the plagues, there remains one further observation upon two comments placed by Professor Driver in large print (page 25), which seem singularly instructive of the critical manner.

Having a further desire to rend the story still more asunder, out of deference to the authorities, he gives the following two instances as raising in his mind the suspicion of a still further composite account :

(1) 'Thus, in vii. 17, the transition from the "I" of God to the "I" of Moses is abrupt and (in the historical books) unusual ; hence the suspicion arises that originally the subject of "I will smite," was Jehovah (*cf.* ver. 25^b), and that the words "with the rod that is in mine hand" were introduced by the compiler of J E from the other source used by him.' But 'the suspicion' of anything so unlikely never will 'arise' in the mind of anyone who has any idea that the events really took place, and that behind the record there are living realities. In the first place, sudden transitions of person in dramatic poetic passages is eminently in the Hebrew manner, and this, if the occasions and conditions are weighed, is a dramatic passage. Moses and Aaron stand alone to champion a nation wearied with bitter slavery before one of the most powerful of old-world monarchs. But, in the next place, the strong probabilities of the case suggest that there is no transition from the 'I' of God to the 'I' of Moses at all.

The strong personality of Jehovah, the Redeemer, is asserted throughout. It is the new departure of revelation in Exodus. It is emphatically Jehovah's quarrel on the side of the weak and the oppressed. In the first interview, Pharaoh said, 'Who is Jehovah? I know not Jehovah.' In Exod. vii. 1 the record runs: 'Jehovah said unto Moses, See, I have made thee' (not *a* god, but) 'God to Pharaoh.' In the passage before us, Moses is instructed to say to Pharaoh, 'Thus saith Jehovah, In this thou shalt know that I am Jehovah; behold, I am smiting with the rod which is in My hand.' Both the 'I's' are emphatic. The introduction of Moses in the second 'I' is highly improbable. It is characteristically in the Old Testament manner to identify the sender with the sent. The rod in the hand of Moses is a rod in the hand of Jehovah. The personality and power of Jehovah is what is opposed to Pharaoh, the absolute monarch of great, old-world Egypt. In accordance with this is verse 25^b, 'after Jehovah had smitten the river.' The effect all this produced on Moses' mind may be seen in Exod. xv. 3, 'Jehovah is a man of war, Jehovah is His Name'; and Deut. xxxii. 41, 'If I whet the lightning of my sword, and mine hand lay hold of judgment.'

(2) The second suspicion of a further composite record follows: 'By the side of ix. 34^b, verse 35^a would seem to be superfluous.' Every repetition, to the 'critic,' implies a different writer; but it is the Hebrew manner to emphasise and bring into prominence by repetition. Half the picturesqueness and interest of the Bible proceeds from this source. It is not a dry *précis* but a living record. The verses run thus: 'And when Pharaoh saw that the rain and the hail and the thunders were ceased, he sinned yet more and made heavy his heart, he and his servants. And Pharaoh strengthened his heart, neither would he let the children of Israel go, as the Lord had spoken by Moses.' The repetition adds emphasis to an important and instructive fact. The parallelism

between **יִחזק** and **וַיִּכְבֹּד** is thoroughly in the Hebrew manner.

7. It remains to give one, and only one, other example before bringing this note to an end—the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram (Numb. xvi., xvii.). Here we are given by Professor Driver two accounts: J E and P (pages 59, 60, 61); and in P there are two strata, between which there is an ‘important distinction.’ So we have three distinct accounts compiled by the unknown writer or writers, who put them together when the Pentateuch, as we now have it, was put together in its final shape.

Now, on the one hand, it is perfectly evident, as it is all along, that the ‘critical’ mode of treatment goes upon the foregone conclusion that the stories of the Pentateuch are legends; on the other hand, it is hoped to make it equally evident that the undesigned coincidences and clear consistency of this account are singularly in favour of its being historical. Professor Driver, in company with Wellhausen and Kuenen, and Dillmann and Baudissin (page 61), find in this account, (1) J E’s account of a *lay* rebellion of Dathan and Abiram, on account of the promise of the land flowing with milk and honey not being fulfilled, and Dathan and Abiram were swallowed up by the earth; (2) an account of Korah and the princes—not Levites—who rebel against Moses and Aaron in the interests of the people at large, on the ground that ‘all the congregation are holy’; and this account is by P; and these men are consumed by fire; and (3) an account by P² of a rebellion of Korah, and two hundred and fifty Levites against the exclusive right of the sons of Aaron to the priestly office (see xvi. 40), and discontented with the menial offices in the service of the tabernacle assigned to them (xvi. 8, 9). Dathan and Abiram are separately dealt with, and ‘Korah,’ says Professor Driver, ‘is united with Dathan and Abiram, not in reality, but *only in the narrative.*’

Now, the facts are not deniable, but the conclusion drawn from them does by no means follow. It is just because this instance introduces another branch of the critical method—*i.e.*, the labouring undoubted facts to prove conclusions that do not follow—that makes it typical. The very facts alleged of the composite nature of the rebellion are an undesigned coincidence of its reality, and point to the vital seriousness of a rebellion, which it was necessary to overwhelm by the serious means employed. The Mosaic polity was in peril. Now, it may be conjectured that there never was a serious and widespread rebellion against government without its being composed of very various elements. Discontented men of different shades of opinion, with differing grievances and differing traditions, have conspired together for the purpose of rebellion. And their coalition was the very strength of the rebellion; it brought together the varied forms of discontent, and attracted men into a focus. Let the reader reflect upon the differences that totally divided the men that dethroned and beheaded Charles I. We have, indeed, in this account a lay discontent put forward by the sons of Reuben; we have a general discontent by which Korah and the Levites stir up the princes of the congregation to side with them in a general grievance, which they put forward to further their own personal and party grievance, as appears in the sequel. The causes of the rebellion and the way in which it grew, which are a little below the surface, are interesting undesigned coincidences, which mark the reality of the history. It was the growth and settlement of the Mosaic constitution that caused it. It would not have occurred earlier, before the order of the camp was fixed and the ministry of the tabernacle settled. Korah was the agitator. Would it be quite impossible to translate the difficult first verse of chapter xvi., ‘Now Korah, the son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, took *both* Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, and On, the son of

Peleth, sons of Reuben ; and they rose up before Moses.* But, in any case, Korah is put first, and is the instigator. He gains over some of the men of Reuben, stirs up two hundred and fifty princes of the congregation, and has a body of Levites on his side. The trouble began with the Kohathite Levites, with Korah their leader, spread to the men of Reuben, involved a serious number of the princes of the congregation. Korah began it, and the probable cause was personal pique. From Exod. vi. 18 it appears he was related by descent to Moses and Aaron, and of the elder branch of the family of Kohath. But, in Numb. iii. 30, it appears that he was passed over in the choice of chief of the Kohathites, and Elizaphan, descended from a younger branch of the Kohathites, made, for some reason or other, chief of his house.

Here is the personal grievance. And the Kohathites had been given the honourable position in relation to the tabernacle service. This had whetted their ambition, and doubtless made them promising material for Korah to work upon. Side by side with the Kohathites, as luck would have it, the Reubenites in the order of encampment were encamped (Numb. iii. 29 ; ii. 10). They, too, had a grievance. Though by natural right of primogeniture they were entitled to primacy amongst the tribes, in accordance with the will of Jacob, they had been passed over. So here again, close at hand, was further promising material for Korah. All this ripened to the rebellion recorded. Korah by himself perished with the Levites. On, the son of Peleth, most probably, when the serious nature of the rebellion became apparent, retired from it. Dathan and Abiram and all theirs were engulfed. The difficulty about the **משכן**, or tabernacle, of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram (ver. 24, 27), is probably met

* Compare the rendering of the Vulgate—‘*Ecce autem Core . . . et Dathan atque Abiram . . . Hon quoque.*’

by Blunt's conjecture, that possibly a rival secret tabernacle had been constructed, and made by them a centre and place of conference for the conspiracy. The attentive reader will observe that the conjectural emendation of Professor Driver (page 61), that after מִשְׁכָּן, 'tabernacle,' came 'of Jehovah,' instead of 'Korah, Dathan, and Abiram,' would make the passage no longer difficult, but absolutely dark and unintelligible.

It will be thus observed that the composite nature of the conspiracy is an undesigned coincidence, implying the reality of the record ; but being connected, and converging upon the serious nature of the rebellion, it by no means implies three narrators in little pieces, who were afterwards combined by a fourth.*

It is the fashion to speak of remarks such as have been attempted in the foregoing notes as criticisms of details and side issues. But it may be pointed out that theories that lead to unsound conclusions are probably themselves unsound, and that no chain is stronger than its weakest part. What is put forward in detail must be met in detail. Besides, what has been attempted is only a sample. To cover the whole ground would require a treatise to itself, and the reader might weary of the large scope which would often require to be taken to combat statements which have in themselves the easy and comfortable air of scientific confidence.

NOTE D. *The historical colour and accuracy of the Pentateuch.*

It is very strongly suggested to the reader that any thoroughgoing research into the so-called 'critical' position will reveal that that position is not tenable, if the Pentateuch be in any sense an authentic record

* Compare Blunt's 'Undesigned Coincidences,' page 79, *et seq.* ; and the 'Speaker's Commentary,' *in loco*.

of facts. In the first place, if they are facts that are recorded, it is incredible that they should have waited through ages of civilisation for some unknown, unheard-of writers for the first time to consider them worthy of a set record. With the exception of parts of Genesis there is no dispute that it would have been perfectly easy and natural to have recorded them at or near the times when the events happened. And if that had not been done, there are several epochs of literary impulse which have to be passed before the supposed times of E and J are reached. A substantially contemporary record of striking and important events is quite in accord with the monuments of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquity, often of probably equal age, that have come down to us, and which have been recently deciphered. The knowledge of writing and reading must have been fairly well disseminated.

‘Egyptian texts,’ says Mr. Birch (in the ‘Records of the Past,’ II., Preface), ‘in most instances are contemporaneous with the events they record, and written or executed under public control.’ The same may be said of the remains of Assyrian and Babylonian antiquity.

Now, the events recorded in the Pentateuch, if they are facts, are of the most striking and interesting importance. Is there any verisimilitude in the idea that these events—the very charter of the Hebrew Church and nation—should have waited from five hundred to one thousand years before anyone thought it worth while to write a connected and sufficient account of them?

In the second place, there exists not the slightest historical reason for believing that the circumstances of E, J, and P were such as to create and stir up an interest in writing the account of these events for the first time. The whole thing is contrary to strong reasonable probabilities, nay, even certainties, if the Pentateuch is a record of *facts*. But, and if it be a Mosaic legend, a series of legends, or the growth of ideas, the suggestion is as strongly put forward to the reader, that

this theory is no scientific or trustworthy account of how the *legends* arose. No legend ever arose in the way that this theory suggests. Besides, this legend is a work of mind and genius. Its consistency with itself rebuts the supposition that E and E², and J and J², and D and D², and H and his redactor, and P and P² and P³ put it together.* Nevertheless, it is certain that the theory took its rise with those who wished to turn the Hebrew Scriptures into legend; and Wellhausen himself has this intention, and uses this word. Also, Kuenen says ('Religion of Israel,' I., page 22), 'The principal element in the Old Testament narratives is legend.'

Now, if it can be demonstrated that that which underlies the Pentateuch is fact, and that all the circumstantial colouring of the narrative is true to that ancient past, which only in these latter days is being restored to us, then the theory of the critics will cease to be tenable in the shape in which it is proposed to us. To demonstrate this would be a large undertaking of wide extent. All that can be attempted in this note is first to indicate some of the principal points of contact between the Pentateuch on the one hand, and science and the restoration of old-world history on the other, which go to establish what is alleged; and secondly, to suggest a few books, more or less easily obtainable, in which the facts and findings of modern times on this subject are conveyed to the English reader.

I. Points of contact between the Pentateuch and science, more especially physical.

* Notice even Professor Driver's reluctance to follow his authorities (page 45): 'Kuenen uses the symbols P¹, P², P³. The only reason why the same symbols have not been adopted here, is that the writer did not wish to impose upon himself the task of distinguishing between P² and P³.' Professor Driver's mind goes far in all conscience, but it will not stretch to Kuenen's measure.

a. The doctrine of creation.

Though, as is only natural in so difficult and so remote a subject, there remain moot and unsettled points, yet the general tenor of the first three chapters of Genesis, properly understood, and the latest real findings of science properly understood, speak the same language. There is nothing out of date. There is nothing mythical, as in all other ancient attempts to speak of the creation of what we see. Longinus the heathen long ago recognised the Scripture account as sublime. And sublime it is still. Where science leaves us with the 'unknown God,' the Hebrew record shows us the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, as the Source and Providence of all things. From hence is the beginning of His revelation.

b. (1) The nature of man and woman.

(2) The derivation of man.

The philosophic account of the nature of man and of woman, in the first three chapters of Genesis, is in the deepest sense true to all our experience. Well weighed, it is incomparably superior to whole volumes of ethical and mental philosophy, and far more true to nature.

The principle of the supremacy of man, the distinction between man and animals, and the delegated power over all nature and its forces given to man, is the principle of all progress and of all history.

The derivation of all the human family from one pair is emphatically confirmed by recent science, from many somewhat divergent points of view.

The simple condition of the first man is supported by scientific confirmation.

There is no myth of Adam Kadmon, full of all science and wisdom. There is nothing here mythological, nothing shallow or strained. The birth of language is truly described. All is correspondent with the best and highest findings of philosophy and science. How far

other nations went astray in these respects is remarkably evident by comparison. Whether any part of the story is to be taken as an allegory, is a question for scientific exegesis. The truths conveyed are profoundly true.

The doctrine of sin as spoiling the high calling of man's nature is the only key to the strange paradoxes of history and the only explanation of our closest experiences and of honest self-knowledge.

The scientific doctrine of heredity is accurately and finely stated in Gen. v. 3.

II. Points of contact between the Pentateuch and science, more especially historical.

a. The most ancient world rings with echoes of (1) the Creation, (2) the Fall, (3) the Deluge—possibly of the Giants (נפלים, 'Fellers,' or 'marvellous ones') that were in those days.

Echoes of these things are spread through every nation under heaven.

There must be some account of these echoes. The account is the voice of the Scripture, which represents facts.

b. The story of the simplicity and pastoral life of one family of mankind, before the Deluge, conducing to godliness, and of the Cainites, making some degree of advance in invention and artificial life and some luxuries, tending to ungodliness, has a distinctly historical flavour. The corruption produced by the mingling of the one with the other has often repeated itself in history. There is nothing mythological, but something very instructive in this.

c. The genealogy of Noah and his most remarkable prophetic description of the history of the world are emphatically verified.*

* Noah must have been a very sagacious guesser, or else the providential guidance of the world must have been supernaturally revealed to him. He attributes to

Genesis x. contains two of the most recent discoveries of philological and historic science.

(1) The unity of the Indo-European family, which scientific truth began to be understood from the time of the discovery of Sanskrit.

(2) The once disputed, but now clearly recognised, early Hamitic supremacy in the plains of Mesopotamia (Gen. x. 6-12).

The language of Accad is witness to it. And, *pace* Professor Sayce, it may be suggested that the gigantic images of Nimrod disinterred at Nineveh are not the same as Isdubhar. Compare the illustration given by Bishop Walsh with those in Smith's 'Chaldean Genesis.'

And Genesis x. contains also many other interesting scientific facts of the ancient race history of the world; for instance, the Hamitic origin of the Philistines.

d. The doctrine of the primitive unity of human language and its 'confounding' (Gen. xi. 1-9) precisely corresponds to the findings of the latest philological research. There exist three great families of language, but the roots common to the three are still existent traces of a common origin. 'It is possible, even now,' says Professor Max Müller (quoted in 'Hours with the Bible,' I., 282), 'to point out radicals which, under various changes and disguises, have been current in the three branches ever since their first separation.'

'It is pleasing to remark,' says Sir H. Rawlinson, speaking of Western Asia,* 'that if we were guided by the mere intersection of linguistic paths, and independently of all reference to the Scriptural record, we should

Ham a tendency to degeneration and slavery; to Shem the conservation of religious truth; to Japheth, a spreading, colonising, progressive tendency, ending in the latter days in predominance. He might have been writing history. (Gen. ix. 25, 26, 27.)

* Rawlinson, 'Bampton Lectures,' page 294.

still be led to fix on the plains of Shinar, as the focus from which the various lines had radiated.* The primitive language does not probably exist. It has been 'confounded' or lost by diffusion.

e. Points of contact between the account of Abraham and the recent restoration of ancient history.

(1) 'Ur of the Chaldees' has returned to the light as a place of ancient importance (Smith's 'Babylonia,' page 65). Compare Sayce's 'Fresh Light,' pages 20 and 44. **נשדים**, Chaldees, is suggested to mean 'conquerors'; Abu-ramu occurs as a name in early Babylonian contract tablets. Possibly some movement towards idolatrous developments, which are traceable in Accadian and other inscriptions, may be the starting-point of Abraham's migration. Also, see 'Padan Aram' and 'Haran' (Sayce's 'Fresh Light,' page 45).

(2) The reception of Abraham in Egypt, and his fears touching Sarah, are directly and specifically confirmed by Egyptian monuments and documents. ('Hours with the Bible,' I., 360, *et seq.*; and 'Echoes of Bible History,' Bishop Walsh, under times of Abraham.)

(3) The conditions of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah are confirmed.

Commander Lynch concludes his report, after visiting the Dead Sea: 'It is for the learned to comment on the facts which we have laboriously collected. Upon our-

* The ancient colouring of Genesis xi. 1-9, is surely long before Moses. The simple references to Jehovah have a very primitive tone about them. The ancient name, Shinar, of the district round Babylon, possibly from a root referring to its fertility (see Davies, *sub voce*), and the same with Sumir in Accadian; the use of bitumen in building—natural in Babylon because of its abundance, but not in Egypt—are all indications of this. This account is given by the 'critics' to J, in the time of the divided monarchy.

selves the result is a decided one. We entered upon this sea with conflicting opinions. One of the party was sceptical, and another, I think, a professed unbeliever of the Mosaic account. After twenty-two days' close investigation, if I am not mistaken, we were unanimous in the conviction of the truth of the Scripture account of the destruction of the cities of the plain.' (Lynch's 'Narrative of the United States Expedition,' quoted in Rawlinson's 'Bampton Lectures,' page 301. Compare the careful and interesting account of the Dead Sea, and the probable causes of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, and Lot's wife, in 'Egypt and Syria,' by Sir William Dawson.)

(4) The condition of Babylonia in Abraham's time (Gen. xiv.). 'The early Babylonian inscriptions confirm the statements of Genesis as to the power and importance of Elam at this period.' (Smith in 'Records of the Past,' III., 19.)

Chedor-laomer—a name which would appear in the inscriptions as Kudur Lagamar, servant of the god Lagamar—seems to be the generic title of the ancient kings of Elam. Two of the names of these kings—Kudur-Mabuk, servant of Mabuk, and Kudur-Nanhundi, servant of Nankhunta—have come to light. Two of the other kings have been identified—Eri-aku and Turgal king of Gutium. (Sayce's 'Fresh Light,' page 46.) Also, in Gen. xiv. 18-21, the character of Melchizedec is a survival of a past that was old in Abraham's day. The phrase **אל עליון קנה שמים וארץ**, the Most High God, possessor of heaven and earth, and the word **מן** (occurring elsewhere, once in Proverbs, and once in Hosea, 'to give thy enemies into thy hand,') are peculiar and with ancient flavour. Melchizedec and Balaam are impossible creations for later times. Professor Driver gives the chapter to a 'special source'; but it may be suggested that the 'special source' is the reality of Truth. Surely

the 'special source' is a contemporary document carefully preserved.

(5) The whole character of the story, and the prominence of the Hittites—a race forgotten, whose prominence has lately come to light. See the most interesting Hittite remains in the British Museum, and Sayce's 'Hittites.'

f. The getting a wife for Isaac, and the character and times of Jacob and Laban, with the Aramæan name of the heap of witness (Gen. xxxi. 47). Note also the ancient type of Jacob's pillar (Gen. xxviii. 18), and of the teraphim or household gods (Gen. xxxi. 19, 34, 35). ('Speaker's Commentary,' *in loc.*)

g. The times of Joseph and Egypt. The great accuracy and number of the points of contact with Egypt as it is now restored to us, as has been said above, make even a critic like Bleek suppose the probability of a pre-Mosaic written account.

h. The times of Moses and Egypt.

(1) The seasons, the natural characteristics, and the national characteristics of the country.

(2) The Egyptian model of much of the Mosaic institutions. The points of contact are many and various.

i. The desert, and the air and character of the desert life. Also there are allusions to many ancient places and races which are more or less verifiable—for instance, Bashan and its cities. 'Even if the precise route were unknown, yet the peculiar features of the country have so much in common that the history would still receive many illustrations.' The occasional springs, wells and brooks, the vegetation, the acacia, the seneh, the palms, the hyssop, the barren mountains, the terrific thunderstorms, etc., etc., are given as instances. (Stanley, 'Sinai and Palestine,' page 19, *et seq.*) To revert in all the fresh and natural colouring of reality to scenes and historic passages so long past in the ages would be beyond the capacities of the supposed J and E, to say nothing of P.

‘The accurate labours of the scientific surveyor have vindicated the truthfulness of the narratives of Exodus and Numbers,’ says Sir William Dawson (‘Egypt and Syria,’ page 51). ‘Every scientific man, who reads the reports of the Ordnance Survey and studies its maps, must agree with the late Professor Palmer that they afford “satisfactory evidence of the contemporary character of the narrative.” They prove, in short, that the narrator must have personally traversed the country and must have been a witness of the events he narrates.’

It is very desirable to notice that numbers would seem to be the less certain part of the Hebrew literature. The numbers of our present Hebrew text, and of the Samaritan, and of the LXX. differ. The number forty seems to have been used loosely for a more or less lengthened period of time. If, as supposed on good evidence, the Hebrew literature was transliterated from the Phœnician early character to the Babylonian square character about the time of Ezra, this might probably affect numbers more than other things. It is to be remembered the Samaritan retains the Phœnician character. The Egyptian MSS. also might have done so for some time later.

III. List of Books.

(1) Books bearing more especially on the scientific points of contact :

‘Nature and the Bible.’ Professor Reusch. T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh. 21s.

A good and useful book.

‘Scripture and Science not at Variance.’ Archdeacon Pratt. Hatchards. 7s. 6d.

A very good book, not yet out of date.

‘Does Science aid Faith in Regard to Creation?’ Bishop Cotterill. Hodder and Stoughton. 3s. 6d.

An excellent book.

'Primeval Man.' The Duke of Argyle. Strahan and Co. 4s. 6d.

'The Physical History of Mankind.' Dr. Prichard, 1836. Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper.

A standard book, not yet out of date.

'The Christian Doctrine of Sin.' Dr. Julius Müller. T. and T. Clark. 21s.

A standard book.

'Biblical Psychology.' Delitzsch. T. and T. Clark. '12s. A suggestive book.

'Conversations on the Creation.' A Layman. Sunday School Union. 2s.

A very good and suggestive little book.

(2) Books more especially on the historic points of contact :

'Echoes of Bible History.' Bishop of Ossory. Church Sunday School Institute. 3s.

A good, clear, and interesting summary.

'Hours with the Bible.' Rev. Dr. Cunningham Geikie. Hodder and Stoughton. Sold and indexed separately, vols. 1 and 2 for Pentateuch. 5 vols., 6s. each.

A very good book indeed.

'A Manual of the Ancient History of the East.' Francois Lenormant. Translated. Asher and Co. 10s.

A most interesting and instructive book.

Maspero's '*Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient*' (4s. 2d.) is not so good in arrangement or in matter, and is vitiated by the acceptance as science of Wellhausen's theory, but its date is later. It may be usefully compared.

'Sinai and Palestine' (14s.) and the 'History of the Jewish Church,' 2 vols., 6s. each. Late Dean Stanley. Murray.

Very useful and in his delightful style.

Dean Milman's 'History of the Jews.' Murray. 3 vols., 6s. each.

His notes on the critical position and on Deuteronomy are still of considerable value.

'Babylonia' and 'Assyria.' George Smith. Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. 2s. each.

'The Desert of the Exodus.' Prof. Palmer. London.

'Narrative of the United States Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea.' Commander Lynch. Philadelphia.

'The Chaldean Account of Genesis.' George Smith. Sampson Low and Co. 16s.

'Serpent Myths of Egypt.' W. R. Cooper. Victoria Institute Paper, Hardwick.

'Fresh Light from the Monuments' (3s.) and 'The Hittites: the Story of a Forgotten Empire' (2s. 6d.). Professor Sayce. Religious Tract Society.—'Uarda.' George Ebers. Tauchnitz. Sampson Low and Co.—'Egypt and Syria.' Sir J. W. Dawson. Religious Tract Society. 3s.
Excellent books by original investigators.

'Signs and Wonders in the Land of Ham.' Rev. Thos. Millington. Murray. 7s. 6d.

'A Popular Account of the Ancient Egyptians.' Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson. Murray. 2 vols., 12s.

Canon Rawlinson's 'Bampton Lectures.' Murray.

This book is perhaps a little disappointing, but is still valuable.

'The Speaker's Commentary.' Murray.

Though also perhaps disappointing and distinctly unequal, is yet by no means properly entitled to the disrespect which it frequently receives.

'Egypt and the Books of Moses.' Hengstenberg. T. and T. Clark. 7s. 6d.

‘Biblical Archæology.’ Professor Keil. T. and T. Clark. 2 vols., 21s.

‘The Diseases of the Bible.’ Sir Risdon Bennett. Religious Tract Society. 2s. 6d.

Incidentally touches upon points of interest to the subject.

‘The Records of the Past.’ Edited by S. Birch. Bagster. 8 vols., 3s. 6d. a volume, but difficult to obtain.

(3) Books on the general subject.

‘When was the Pentateuch Written?’ George Warrington. Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. 1s. 6d.

A good little book.

‘The Historical Character of the Old Testament.’ Rev. E. Eckersley. S.P.C.K. 6d.

‘The Battle of the Standpoints.’ Eyre and Spottiswoode, 6d.—‘The Inspiration of the Old Testament.’ Congregational Union. Principal Cave. 10s. 6d.

Good and useful, the work of a gentleman to whom the Church owes much. But the adoption of a J and E who are not the J and E of the critics, and whom perhaps it would be very difficult to separate, somewhat complicates his position. We also cannot help somewhat disliking the expression ‘the Journal Theory.’ History is the search after facts.

‘Hebrew Feasts.’ Professor W. H. Green. James Nisbet and Co. 5s.

An excellent book.

‘The Law in the Prophets.’ Prof. Stanley Leathes. Eyre and Spottiswoode. 3s. 6d.

‘The Foundations of the Bible.’ Canon Girdlestone. Eyre and Spottiswoode. 3s. 6d.

A book much abused, but by a painstaking student, and containing things that are useful.

Most of these books are obtainable second-hand, of course at much less cost.

Moreover, outside all these things there lie other things, which should on no account be neglected in estimating the historical reality of the Pentateuch.

And first, there is the *prima facie* effect produced by the narrative upon the ordinary understanding; and that effect is fresh, gracious, and truthful. Next, is to be noticed the sharply defined, diverse characters of the people spoken of, real and vivid.

1. Character in itself, by no means mythically or reverentially represented as faultless. Consider Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Sarah, Rebecca, Lot, Laban, Rachel, Reuben, Judah, Joseph, Aaron, the Pharaoh of Joseph's time and the haughty Pharaoh of the Exodus (compare Dawson's 'Egypt and Syria,' page 53), Potiphar's wife, the butler, the baker, Joseph's steward, Korah, Melchizedec, Balaam.*

2. Character improved or perfected by the discipline of life and providence, a result verified in any Christian's experience, and at once like human nature and like the dispensations of Providence in the present day.

Abraham perfected in faith, his distinguishing virtue made to have its perfect work.

Jacob redeemed from the failings of an imperfect character till it grew loyal, dignified, and true.

Moses, a high and impatient spirit nurtured by a princely education, but tempered by the discipline

* Numb. xxii.-xxiv. The whole narrative is so characteristic and has such archaic ideas that it must surely have been reported to Moses by a friendly eye-witness. See the phrases here only. He took up his parable; נאם first used by a man who was a prophet; בננו with case ending; נפל וגלוי עינים falling into a trance and his eyes open.

of failure till it became fit for its tremendous and high calling.

So only did the magnificent character of Moses become very patient and gentle, more patient and more gentle than any of his contemporaries (Num. xii. 3)

ענו מאד.

But most characteristically to human nature, under strong provocation the old Adam crops out again in Exod. v. 22, 23 ; xxxii. 19 ; Num. xvi. 15, and finally and specially in Num. xx. 10, 11.

Further, the undesigned coincidences of the Pentateuch are well dealt with by the late Professor Blunt in his 'Undesigned Coincidences of the Old and New Testament' (1847, Murray), though perhaps in some parts the argument is a little strained ; and it may be suggested that the undesigned coincidences given are capable of considerable additions being made to them.

Finally, the reader is earnestly entreated to notice carefully the immediate and emphatic bearing of these facts upon the authorship of the Pentateuch.

I. Taken together, they demand for the greatest part of the Pentateuch that it is substantially contemporaneous with the events recorded.

The Pentateuch is not a legend, but records and reveals facts and realities of the greatest interest and importance to mankind.

It is no longer possible to deny that a written contemporaneous record was in the highest degree likely and now proved to have been quite possible. To the Accadian writer of the legend of creation, presumably before the time of Abraham,* the art of writing 'seemed to mount back to the very beginning of mankind,' and there-

* Because surely the Semitic elements in Chaldaea had long begun to predominate in Abraham's day.

fore was long before his time ; and, it may be asked, What was the good of writing if nobody could read? (Sayce's 'Fresh Light,' page 22). The fact is that the earlier times of mankind were far more civilised than used formerly to be supposed.

2. Specifically, they make the theory of J and E five hundred years after Moses, and one thousand years after Abraham, and P many hundreds of years later, with oral tradition their only source for the greater part of their story, an untenable theory. To have covered a canvas, on which was only the most meagre outline, with characters as real and differentiated, and facts as complex and verified as the Pentateuch presents, would have been work beyond the strength of the highest genius. And there is no reason for supposing that the unhistorical E, J, and P possessed the highest genius.

'The infidelity of oral tradition,' says Sir G. C. Lewis in the 'Credibility of Early Roman History' (quoted by Rawlinson, 'Bampton Lectures,' page 270), 'with respect to past occurrences, has been so generally recognised, that it would be a superfluous labour to dwell upon it. For our present purpose it is more material to fix the time during which an accurate memory of historical events may be perpetuated by oral tradition alone.'

Mallet, in his work on 'Northern Antiquities,' remarks that, among the common class of mankind, a son remembers his father, knows something of his grandfather, but never bestows a thought on his more remote progenitors. This would carry back a man's knowledge of his family for about a hundred years, and it is not likely that his knowledge of public affairs, founded on a similar oral tradition, could reach to an earlier date.'

It is very possible that this remark may be subject to certain reservations, but it remains true in the main.

‘This (that the discovery of law is in part the work of human reason) did the very heathens themselves obscurely insinuate, by making Themis, which we call Jus, or Right, to be the daughter of heaven and earth.’—Hooker, Book I., viii. 5.

CHAPTER II.

THE LEGISLATION.

1. The character of legislation, (*a*) based upon the customs and institutions of the past ; (*b*) guided by the genius and inspiration of the lawgiver, to a new departure ; (*c*) with a view to the order and stability of future ages.—2. In accord with these principles, the Mosaic legislation (1) embodies in itself pre-existing customs and institutions, which descend from the earliest times, or have grown up during the four hundred years' sojourn of Israel in Egypt ; (2) and tries to break with other bad customs which have grown up under the same conditions. Many of these sanctioned customs and interdicted customs have quite lost their meaning in the later times of the history of Israel. They therefore remain monuments of the time to which the legislation, which treats of them, belongs. A legislation later than the Mosaic age would have legislated differently, for difference of environment would have called for difference of treatment. Also, throughout the legislation, camp surroundings are implied. (3) The same consideration applies to the Egyptian mediation of much of the Pentateuchal institutions. They are natural to the facts of the education of Moses, and not to after-times.—3. The three principles of the Mosaic new departure. They would have been under the con-

ditions of their origin absolutely unintelligible and forceless, without being clothed and upheld by institutions and symbols. This clothing must have been contemporary with their enunciation.—4. The forward look of the Mosaic legislation. Its character wholly inconsistent with times later than Moses himself.—5. The eminently ideal characteristics of the Hebrew legislation imply its origin in the Mosaic age. Contemporary revelation the only impulse adequate to give ideal type to the legislation. The very imperfect realisation of the ideal in after-times confirms this observation.—6. The conclusion as to the authorship of the Pentateuch indicated by the facts.

NOTES.—A. On the supposed invalidity of literary tradition for Hebrew history—B. The authorship of Deuteronomy—C. *Spencer de Legibus Hebræorum*—D. The phraseology of H.

1. THE considerations which have been here advanced, and others, seem to involve the conclusion that the histories of the Pentateuch are substantially contemporaneous with the events which they relate. The history was written in or near to the times of which it is a record. If a later writer touched the work, it was to combine or to edit written materials, or to make archæological, explanatory, or complementary additions. And these additions were comparatively insignificant. And if a due observation of the facts makes clear that we have in the Pentateuch story contemporaneous history, it may not be impossible to

prove that a due observation of the Pentateuchal legislation will show that in it we have legislation in the main contemporaneous with Moses, its recognised originator. A conviction that this is so arises, if we analyse the several component parts of the Hebrew legislation, as we should analyse the component parts of any other legislation. For legislation is of a different order from history. When any man arises with the gifts and powers of a legislator, his work naturally divides itself into three parts. The legislation which he has in contemplation has a most important relation to the custom of the past. Its bearing towards these will, humanly speaking and to a great extent, be the condition of its success or non-success. 'Men's thoughts,' says Bacon, 'are much according to their inclination; their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions; but their deeds are after as they have been accustomed.'* The wise legislator will, therefore, not be prone to disturb, without a cause, traditional elements or customs of justice deeply rooted in the people's mind. He must be sometimes sagacious enough even to bear with them, to try to turn long-standing habit to a good account; to utilise even very imperfect practices, which

* Essay xxxix., 'Of Custom and Education.'

are rooted deep, as stepping-stones to better. What the poet sings of the improvement of the individual will hold true of the gradual advance of a people into the light of justice ; and

‘ Men may rise on stepping-stones
Of their dead selves to better things.’*

Things must be tolerated, which cannot in themselves be commended, with purpose to lead men higher. This accommodation of legislation is allowed by our Divine Lord to the legislation of Moses, when He says : ‘ Moses having regard to the hardness of your hearts (πρὸς τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν) suffered you to put away your wives’ ;† and in other places. But the legislator has also a new departure to make. It is the *raison d’être* of his being a legislator at all. And a very special and peculiar new departure must be ascribed to Moses. He created a religious nation. A nation in which, beyond all controversy, was preserved for mankind the knowledge of the one, true, living God, was constituted by Moses. The principles of a new departure are very evident and marked in his legislation. And, in the third place, the legislator will have a forward look. It is his to plant and water the order and good government of future ages.

* Tennyson’s ‘ In Memoriam,’ l.

† Matthew xix. 8, and v. *passim*.

He will have this full in view, for this is his purpose.

Now, these three features of the legislator's work are plainly discoverable in the legislation of the Pentateuch. It is also discoverable that the pre-existent customs and other matters, implying the ancient present in which the legislator moved—the new departure involving contemporaneous institutions, and the aspect and standpoint from which the future is contemplated—all these point to an age for the essential part of the Pentateuchal legislation which shall be contemporaneous with the legislator. The conditions fit the times of Moses; but they would be in the highest degree unnatural in later times.

2. First, then, the present of the Pentateuchal legislation is a present in the ancient past, a present out of date in later times, and, except in principle, out of reference to them. The customs adapted and adopted into the legislation would belong to an almost forgotten past, in the times of writers after the divided monarchy, and towards the exile. Some of the dangers warned against are altogether antiquated by the times of David. And further, the mediation of the institutions of the Pentateuch is clearly Egyptian—a natural result of the conditions of the education of Moses.

Let us attempt, as briefly as may be, (1) to separate the elements of family, tribal, or village custom, which reflect the development of four hundred years of sojourning in Egypt, and are clearly in a past distant from the later times; (2) to point out the dangers, warned against in the Pentateuch, which cease to have any existence in the later times; and (3) to indicate the principal points of Egyptian derivation which are to be found in the Pentateuchal institutions.

(1) In the first place, then, a fact comes before us of great interest, as a restoration of ancient history. And it is this, that the state of things which the Pentateuch finds existing, and implies as pre-Mosaic, reveals the development of a very simple organisation amongst the children of Israel, and that this development took place under conditions a good deal separate from life in Egypt. The children of Jacob had not yet reached the type of organised nationality. They were children of Israel still, after their families and after their tribes. Their government was by the paterfamilias and council of the elders. Their organisation was simple. It is probable that property was possessed to some extent in common. They resembled in many ways the village communities of later times. It also becomes clear that their par-

ticipation in the stir of life in Egypt must have been to no great extent. All this we might have supposed. Descent from the patriarchs, and residence in Goshen, apart from the main stream of life in Egypt, imply it. But it cannot fail to be interesting to find, as from an independent source, that what was *prima facie* probable can be traced in the Pentateuch, as a fact imprinted on the customs and habits which there come to light.

Let us, then, group together the facts in the legislation, which point to the simple, social organisation of the children of Israel, and to their living to a considerable extent apart in Egypt.

a. The pre-Mosaic religion and law of the children of Israel was derived from Noah and the patriarchs. It included the following elements. (i.) The code of morals—the honouring of parents (Gen. ix. 22-27). The dignity of human life demanding death as the punishment of murder (Gen. ix. 5, 6). The sanctity of marriage. The institution of property. Vows and the sanctity of truth. (ii.) The code of worship. The institution of the seventh-day rest from primeval times (Gen. ii. 1-4). The Babylonians knew of it as ‘a day of completion of labour,’ or ‘a day of rest for the heart’ (Sayce’s ‘Fresh Light,’ page 24). Cir-

cumcision.* The use of a stone implement points to its religious antiquity (Exod. iv. 25).† Sacrifice, the offerings of firstlings and first-fruits. The idea of places of worship, spoken of as ‘before the Lord,’ ‘the presence of the Lord,’ probably sometimes indicated by pillars set up like the Saxon and Runic crosses in early Christian times (Gen. xxviii. 18), or associated with an altar of earth, less commonly of unhewn stone (Exod. xx. 24-26).‡ The priestly office of the father of the family or elder brother (Exod. xii. 3, 21, 22). (iii.) The ceremonial code and law of quasi-religious custom. The avoidance of blood (Gen. ix. 4). Distinction of meats (Gen. vii. 2). The duty of a brother to marry the brother’s widow (Gen. xxxviii.). The marriage law, as resulting from the sanction of ancient custom. The bill of divorce, ‘having regard to the hardness of

* Common to Egyptians and other ancient nations, but expressly adopted as the sign of a covenant in Israel (Sayce’s ‘Fresh Light,’ page 64).

† Compare also LXX. additions in Joshua.

‡ The very ancient ideas conveyed in this passage are well illustrated in Spencer’s ‘De Legibus Hebræorum,’ Lib. II., cap. 6, page 321. The simple customs of their forefathers were held traditionally sacred. Compare the passage of Porphyry, quoted by Spencer (‘De Abstinencia,’ Lib. II., sec. 12) : *αγαλματα αρχαια, και περ απλως πεποιημενα, οτια νομιζεσθαι, τα δε καινα περιεργως ειργασμενα, θανατίζεισθαι μιν, Θεου δε εοξεν ηττον εχειν.*

their hearts.' Laws to mitigate slavery and of very simple pastoral and agricultural life (Exod. xxi.-xxiii.). Traces of all these things are found in the legislation of the Pentateuch, and, it is conceived, have their root in the times which were long before Moses. The Sabbath is an institution, for instance, when it first meets us in the times of Moses (Exod. xvi. 22), so is circumcision.*

b. But it is the administration of the law from its criminal and social side that more especially accentuates the atmosphere of the pre-Mosaic customs and social arrangements, in the midst of which the Pentateuchal legislation moves and walks. There can be no doubt that the office and duty of the Goel or next of kin is an institution of a very primitive order. Compare Gen. xxxviii. 8, where the institution is not probably so developed. It is not prescribed any more than slavery, but only dealt with and tempered with justice in the legislation of the Pentateuch. The Goel (probably 'the setter free,' compare cognates גֹּעַל, גֹּלֵעַ גֵּלָה, חֹלֵל, and the derivative sense of גֹּאֵל), the natural guardian of rights, the avenger of bloodshed, the next of kin for the honour and safety of his kinsman, and for the continuance

* For further remarks on this whole subject, see Blunt's 'Undesigned Coincidences,' pages 8-29.

of the family reflects a very primitive state of society (Lev. xxv.; Num. v. 8; xxxv.; Deut. xix. 6-12). It would appear that the institution of the Goel receded more and more into the background as the social organisation of the children of Israel grew more and more civilised. In the time of the kingdom it probably tends in the main to become a thing of the past, as far as the administration of justice is concerned. In 2 Sam. xiv. 7-11, the institution seems in a transition state, and modified by the exercise of the king's power. It is, moreover, to be noticed, that in the somewhat uncivilised condition of the children of Israel, it was sometimes associated, in the time of Moses, with vindictive savagery. To clear it of abuses, in the case of accidental manslaughter, there were sanctioned in the legislation, first, the law of sanctuary in the desert—the sanctuary of the altar (Exod. xxi. 13, 14), a probably existing custom before Moses' time; and afterwards, when the land of promise grows closer—the institution of cities of refuge, designed and partially instituted by Moses, but fully carried out into actual detail by Joshua (Num. xxxv. 9-34; Deut. iv. 41-43; xix. 1-14; Joshua xx.). Next, the government of the children of Israel was by the elders, or headmen of the city or village (Deut. xix. 12; xxi. 3, 6, 19; xxii. 15;

xxv. 8) ; the elders of the tribes (Deut. xxxi. 28) ; and a council of elders, the elders of Israel, elders of the congregation (Exod. iii. 16 ; xii. 21 ; xvii. 5 ; xviii. 12 ; xxiv. 1 ; Lev. iv. 15 ; Num. xi. 16 ; Deut. xxvii. 1 ; xxxi. 9). This system Moses modified, by the introduction of priests and judges (Deut. xix. 17, 18) ; but he found the system in existence. He legislated not for its *esse*, but for its *bene esse*. These elders, or headmen, or tribesmen, administered local and public justice. The 'people,' or 'congregation' carried out criminal sentences (Lev. xx. 2 ; xxiv. 14). The mode of execution was stoning, not beheading or hanging, as in Egypt.

It is very possible that these things suggest that the children of Israel, during the four hundred years' sojourn in Goshen, had grown into something like village communities. And may it not also be suggested that the law of repartition of land and of common land (Lev. xxv. 28, 34) are indications of customs which were familiar, before the times of Moses, to the free communities of Israel ?* Unless this had

* Compare Sir Henry Maine's 'Village Communities.' Unwritten usage was declared by the council of village elders from time to time (pages 69, 122). Traces remain of the ancient custom of redistribution or repartition of land (page 112) ; and of the common mark (page 78). And with regard to Deut. xxiv. 10, 11, the exclusive right of

been so, perhaps the observance of these things would not have been so readily contemplated by Moses. Notice, also, that a man's house is considered his castle (Deut. xxiv. 10, 11).

Again, the 'Lex talionis,'* eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth (Exod. xxi. 24, 25; Deut. xix. 21; Lev. xxiv. 20), has in view to regulate the vindictiveness of a primitive society. Akin to the primitive character of this law, and probably springing from old custom, is the 'Judicium Dei,' or trial by the waters of jealousy (Num. v. 11-31). Analogous usages are found in other primitive societies (see Blackstone, iv., pages 341-348). Landmarks, or stones to mark boundaries, were probably before Moses' time (Deut. xix. 14; xxvii. 17).

It is to be remarked that they are not noticed in the legislation probably given in the desert, but they are spoken of when the Israelites are nearing the time when such things would come again into use.

the paterfamilias in the house or homestead in the village community, is to be compared (Stubbs' 'Constitutional History,' I., 21.

* The 'lex talionis' was a piece of primitive justice, descending from very early times (see 'The Speaker's Commentary,' *in loc.*). It is attributed by Aristotle to Rhadamanthus. It occurs in the XII. Tables, but fell into disuse (Justinian, Lib. IV. Tit. iv. 7). And it was found among the ancient Indians.

Most interesting, again, as indicating the primitive tone of the society to which Moses was addressing himself, are the curious social usages, which come from a time before any commercial system of bills and contracts such as was in use in Egypt and the Euphrates valley, and by the Phœnician trader, had permeated the Hebrew shepherd and agricultural life. The loosing of the shoe and spitting in the face, in the entering in of the village, when a man refuses to take up the responsibilities of hereditary right, are, it seems, a trace of some primitive custom of property conveyancing, together with the spitting in the face, which seems to have been a rather too familiar form of insult or disgrace in the pre-Mosaic social customs (Deut. xxv. 5-10; compare Lev. xv. 8, and Num. xii. 14).

Further light is thrown upon the subject by two other allusions to it in the book of Ruth and an early Psalm. In the fourth chapter of the book of Ruth we read that when the Goel, who was nearer of kin to Ruth than Boaz, refused to redeem the land of Naomi and Ruth, and with it take Ruth,* he drew off his shoe or sandal, and gave it to Boaz, as publicly assigning to him his own rights in the

* Perhaps he was already married. He says: 'I cannot' (verse 6).

property (verse 8). And this explanation is given. 'Now this was the custom of old or anciently (לפנים) in Israel, concerning redeeming and concerning exchanging, for to confirm any matter; a man drew off his shoe and gave it to his neighbour: and this was the manner of attestation, or the use in Israel.'

Here the reader will observe that the circumstances are different from those in the Deuteronomic law, Ruth not acting for herself; but there is the same reference to the taking off the shoe, as abjuring or allowing to lapse property rights.

In Psalm lx. 8 we read, 'Over Edom will I cast my shoe,' as a sign of possession, an allusion to the same old custom of using the shoe in property conveyancing—*i.e.*, the assertion or abjuring of a man's rights in a property, by this use of the shoe. How this idea came to be connected with the shoe or sandal, is probably disclosed by the expression in Stephen's speech (Acts vii. 5), 'He gave him none inheritance in it—no, not so much as to set his foot on.'

Traces of another ancient custom grown up in Israel during their four hundred years' sojourn in Egypt are to be found in the somewhat barbaric ceremony of the retention

of a slave who does not want to go free (Exod. xxi. 5, 6; Deut. xv. 16, 17). If the slave wished, either from affection for his wife and family, or from affection for his master or his master's house, to remain a slave, he was to go before the judge, probably for the purpose of public attestation,* and the arrangement was to be clinched by boring his ear with an awl to the door or doorpost. This ceremony is a primitive and ancient ceremony, of which there are said to be analogies in other nations.† There is, probably, a reference to it in Psalm xl. 6, 'Ears hast thou bored for me,' of which the rendering of the LXX., 'a body hast thou fitted for me, or prepared for me,' is, as in many other places, an exegetical rendering. In the same way, the bill of divorce, the institution of slavery, the treatment of seduction as a wrong done to the father, for which money payment must be made (Exod. xxii. 16, 17), are old customs not commanded nor commended, but recognised in order to mitigate their severity, prevent their abuse, or sanction what of good

* The phrase אֱלֹהֵי הַמִּשְׁפָּט, in Exodus xxi., xxii., probably means the place of judgment—God being the source of judgment. (LXX., πρὸς τὸ κριτήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ. Compare Psalm lxxxii. 6.)

† Compare the ancient ceremony among the Romans, of manumission by the vindicta (Smith's 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities,' *sub voce* 'Manumissio').

there is in them. If attentively considered, they, and many other laws having regard to similar conditions, will be found to be treated only by permission. And very wise is the way in which old customs are safeguarded or directed into better channels. It is probable that some simple festivals kept by the children of Israel in Egypt made the feast laws of Moses easier to be observed, as taking up and inspiring with a new meaning old usages. The ceremony of the scapegoat on the day of Atonement, again, and of the two birds, one sacrificed and one let loose, when a leper is pronounced clean, are probably traces of very old usages.

The scapegoat dismissed to Azazel (Lev. xvi. 8, 10, 22, 26) perhaps has its origin in an old pastoral symbolism (or even superstition) retained and sublimated, for its striking power of teaching important truths. Azazel, however we may be inclined to interpret the word, whether cacodæmon, or satan, or 'complete separation,' is evidently a term out of reference to, and out of date in, the later history. The laying of the hands upon the head and dismissing into the desert have an analogy with certain ceremonies reported to us, as used towards the Egyptian evil spirit Typhon.* The

* Hengstenberg, *'Egypt and the Books of Moses,'* page 171.

pre-Mosaic custom would seem a symbolic sacrificial rite, with a tinge of influence possibly infiltrated from long sojourn in Egypt. The bearing of such things upon the inspiration of Moses will be treated later. Exodus xxii. 20 (19 Hebrew), again, would seem to be a pre-Mosaic formula, introducing us to the idea of the cherem for the first time. The idea of bans, or devoted things,* had probably sprung up during Israel's four hundred years' sojourn in Egypt, and was utilised and purified by Moses.

(2) In the next place, some of the dangers warned against in the legislation have quite lost their meaning in later times, and the dangers of the later times are either not alluded to, or not treated with the prominence which later writers must have given to them. And the reason is, that to a great extent they were beyond the horizon of Moses. And some of the legislation has in view a more simple and less civilised state of society than we may suppose later times to have developed.

a. Offering sacrifices to he-goats (Lev. xvii. 7, 'And they shall not sacrifice their sacrifices any more to the he-goats, after which it is their custom to go a-whoring'). The sacrifices to he-goats (שְׁעִירִם) are traces

* The analogue of taboo or tabu.

of an old simple pastoral idolatry, which the children of Israel may be supposed to have fallen into as a result of their contact with the animal worship of Egypt. The chronicler tells us (2 Chron. xi. 15) that Jeroboam sought to reintroduce it from Egypt, along with the calves at Dan and Beersheba. He appointed priests 'for the he-goats and the calves which he had made.' But, apart from this imperfectly successful attempt at a revival, we have no traces that sacrificing to animals was in any way a danger of the later times. It was a danger, in any real sense, of the families in Egypt, and when just delivered from it only.

b. The calf or bull worship which sprung up again in Israel (Exod. xxxii.), whether we consider it a bastard form of Apis or Mnevis worship, or as Moloch, the ox-god worshipped amongst the foreign population of the Delta,* was evidently an idolatry which found its way amongst the children of Israel from Egypt. It was reintroduced in a modified form from Egypt by Jeroboam. But apart from these two points of contact, it is not found. And though 'passing through a child to Moloch' (Lev. xviii. 21, xx. 2-5), was known already to Israel, possibly again, from the Asiatic population of the Delta, where Tanis or Avaris was the former capital

* Geikie, 'Hours with the Bible,' II., pages 279-284.

of the Hyksos, yet the Asherim or Asheroth, and the idolatrous stones, the Bætylia of the Canaanites and Phœnicians, are spoken of in the future (אֲשֵׁרִים, *Exod.* xxxiv. 13; *Deut.* vii. 5; מִצְבֵּת, *Exod.* xxiii. 24, and elsewhere). The going after the unholy rites of the local Baal of Peor (*Num.* xxv. 3-5), the high places of the same Baal or another Baal mentioned in *Numbers* xxi. 20, and xxii. 41, and the mention only of Chemosh, the god of Moab, in *Numbers* xxi. 29, are the only notes of the abominations and high places, and Baalim, the Phœnician Baal and Ashtaroth, and all the host of heaven, which begin to appear in the time of the Judges, and defile the page of the later history of Israel. All this is strictly historical to the times of Moses. And in relation to the theory of P, in the times of the exile, we find no allusions to the idolatries of Ezekiel's time, to the animal worship and the sun worship, and the women weeping for Thammuz or Adonis, of *Ezekiel* viii. Also, it is to be carefully noticed that the point of view from which the various races of the Desert and Canaan are spoken of is not a point of view natural to a writer in later times. There is consistently the atmosphere of an ancient present, which, in the days of the supposed J E and P, had become a far-off past.

Akin to this, it is to be carefully observed that the environment of the legislation is throughout the environment of a camp in the desert. Wherever other conditions are contemplated they are invariably spoken of as in the future. This is a very simple observation, but very important in its significance. For, as has been pointed out and as can be easily verified by a reference to Egyptian and Assyrian poems and stories and travels from the same times, antiquity had none of the powers of the modern novelist to transplant the mind from the surroundings of its present to the surroundings of a remote past. The novelist of the present day could not do this in the natural way in which the Pentateuch reveals the historical conditions of the present, in which it moves unconsciously, and with which it deals. We have direct reference to the conditions of the desert encampment scattered throughout the legislation.

From Exodus xiv., when the camp began, to the times of Joshua, wherever an allusion is made to their existing external conditions it is invariably made to the camp. There is one notable exception only, of which we think an interesting explanation can be given. It is in the case of boring the slave's ear to the door or door-post (Exod. xxi. 6; Deut. xv. 17). It

is probable that this being an old custom sprung up amongst Israel in Egypt when they lived in houses (see *Exod.* xii. 7, 22, 23), and a custom which would refer to their life in houses again, the old wording applying to the custom as it had been and would again be was adhered to. It is noticeable also that in both these places the reference is to the future. This matter of reference to the camp is further especially to be considered with regard to the book of *Leviticus*, which is given by the Theorists to the supposed P and H in times when the very idea of a general camp for all the tribes of Israel had passed out of mind in the kingdoms of Israel and Judah.

This is equally the case with regard to the parts attributed by Professor Driver to P (*Lev.* i.-xvi., xxvii.), and those attributed to H (xvii.-xxvi.). Certain parts of the bullock of sin-offering are to be burned on the altar, the rest to be burned 'without the camp' (iv. 12, 21). The ashes of the burnt offering are to be carried 'without the camp' (vi. 11). The law of burnt offerings was for their offerings in 'the wilderness of Sinai' (vii. 38). In accordance with the law the other parts of the bullock were 'burnt with fire without the camp' (viii. 17). The consecration of Aaron and his sons was at the 'tent of meeting' (viii., ix.).

The dead bodies of Nadab and Abihu were carried on coats 'out of the camp' (x. 5). The offerings at child-birth were to be offered at 'the tent of meeting' (xii. 6). The leper (perhaps, according to the Egyptian tradition preserved by Manetho, a victim of a skin disease* prevalent in Goshen amongst the children of Israel) is to have his dwelling 'without the camp.' The priest is to go forth 'out of the camp,' for the ceremony of 'cleansing' or readmitting a leper who was recovered (xiii., xiv.). Ceremonial uncleanness is not to defile the Tabernacle of the Lord which is in the midst of them (xv. 31). On the day of Atonement parts of the sacrifices are to be burned, and the goat dismissed to Azazel is to be taken 'without the camp' (xvi. 26, 27). Every man is to sacrifice at the door of 'the tent of meeting' (xvii. 8, 9). The man that cursed the name of God was stoned 'without the camp' (xxiv.). These statutes and judgments and laws were made 'in Mount Sinai by the hand of Moses' (xxvi. 46, and xxvii. 34). In fine, wherever there is any allusion in Leviticus to the present and existing environment, to which the legislation directs itself, it is to the camp. Perhaps in fairness it ought to be

* Probably not the leprosy of later times. ('Diseases of the Bible,' page 15.)

added, that the camp regulations, which have sometimes been alleged out of Deut. xxiii. 9-14, apply to the future use of camps in war-time, consistently with the outlook towards the future, which is common to the rest of Deuteronomy.

(3) We turn next to the Egyptian mediation of much of the Mosaic institutions. And it will be well to preface what follows with an observation, which will also tend to clear what has just been said of a misconception. Mediation is not the same with origination. We conceive the Mosaic system to be in no sense indebted to the nature worship, or mythology, or idolatrous forms of other nations. It is a republication of the primitive faith of those of his fathers who, in the language of the Apostle Paul reversed, 'did like to retain God in their knowledge and did not worship and serve the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever.' It is a republication of this primitive faith with such developments as the fulness of his own times and the wisdom of God decided to be possible. But this was not incompatible with the assimilation and utilising of things that were useful, convenient, or impossible to do without. To use an illustration. Moses was indeed the future Law-giver of Israel, but when he first approached

his brethren before he fled to Midian, he was wearing the dress of an Egyptian prince, and when he returned to deliver his people he was probably wearing the dress of a nomad Midianite. The fashion of his clothing did not affect his mission. He had to deal with things as he found them, not with things as he did not find them. Our Divine Lord Himself is a great example of using things that lay to His hand in the disposition of the ages. He did not invent baptism. He found it. The Lord's Prayer is with one exception drawn up from existing Jewish liturgical sources. The world had been prepared in a thousand ways for receiving the idea of His Church, not a little perhaps by the tenets of the Stoic Philosophy.

The synagogue, again, is the starting-point of the church's service and in many points closely copied. Christian customs and modes of thought may have many analogues. But all these things do in no way derogate from the essential divine originality of Christ, and the originality of His Apostles' teaching. It was only that they lived upon earth and spoke the tongues of men.

Where use can be made of things that exist, it is not consonant to the Divine economy to create. Providence uses what Providence has

prepared. There is no effort in things which are from heaven to be original. They simply shine down upon the earth as they find it. They are 'coming into the world from the light that lighteth every man.' The Mosaic institutions have their analogy in similar usages of the old world, but they are purified from their error and consecrated to the service of the progress of the Truth.

It cannot be doubted that Moses adopted and adapted many things from Egypt—Egyptian art, Egyptian modes, and probably some details of symbolism which, though in use in Egypt, had their origin and real significance in the very first ages of mankind. The only difference of opinion on this subject is as to the less or more. But Moses used familiar material only as the fashion and dress of the outward service of Jehovah and its symbols and types. The original ideas and types themselves were heavenly, and not from Egypt.

a. And first, the organisation of the people after the deliverance from Egypt was advanced in dignity and form. While they were in Egypt, we read of the heads of their fathers' houses (ראשים), elders of Israel (זכנים), officers or scribes of the people (שטררים), these last probably appointed by the Egyptians from

among the Hebrews because of their knowledge of writing (Exod. iii. 16; v. 6; vi. 14). The princes of tribute and taskmasters under them were Egyptians (שְׂרֵי מִסִּים, Exod. i. 11; נְגִשִּׁים, Exod. iii. 7).

But after the deliverance out of Egypt there is an advance in the style of dignity and in organisation. The head men or elders are styled princes (נְשִׂאִים, first in Exod. xvi. 22), and captains or rulers are appointed (שָׂרִים, Exod. xviii. 21) as judges. Moses introduced an order of judges and a priestly order and the fashion of both was probably influenced from Egyptian usages,* where priests were of the greatest influence, and justice to all being peculiarly valued was administered by a system of state judges. If there be any truth in the statement of Josephus† that Moses in his younger days led or participated in Egyptian campaigns, he would the more readily be able to organise the families of Israel into a well-ordered encampment. The arrangement of the general's tent in the middle and the rest of the camp in orderly and fixed array around it, was after the Egyptian model familiar to him. And the place of the Tabernacle afterwards

* Compare Wilkinson, 'Ancient Egyptians,' I., page 311; II., page 203.

† Geikie, 'Hours with the Bible,' II., page 102.

had its analogy in the canopy and enclosure in the centre which guarded the sacred emblems in the Egyptian camp.*

The tribes of Israel had now tribal standards or emblems, possibly like the regimental standards of the Egyptians, which exercised so potent an influence upon them, and promoted their sense of corporate life and corporate honour.† The standard possibly consisted of the traditional or then designed emblem of the tribe, carved in wood or other substance, and placed on the top of a staff or pole; though it is just possible that the word דגל signifies something more like what we know as a flag or banner. In any case the military knowledge of Moses introduced a useful custom, foreign it should seem from the habits of Arab encampments. The children of Israel were changed, under his generalship, from an assemblage of just delivered slaves into an ordered host (Num. i. 52, צבאת). Perhaps the observation may be adventured, that Josephus may have something better than 'untrustworthy legend' underlying his statement that Moses led the Egyptians against the Ethiopians, and gained great victories. Moses was brought up as an Egyptian prince (Exod. ii. 10). Military training

* Wilkinson's 'Ancient Egyptians,' I., page 409.

† 'Ancient Egyptians,' I., page 342.

and rank were part of the life of princes in Egypt.* They often bore rank as generals, and commanded divisions. It will not, perhaps, be unreasonable to see in the way in which Moses marshalled the undisciplined families and tribes of Israel, traces of his former military training. It is an undesigned coincidence with what we are told of his Egyptian education.

b. In the next place, the use of symbolism, which Moses adopts, is a natural product of a mind 'learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.' The great and simple faith of the patriarchs had little need of symbols. But when the religious teaching of Jehovah was to be impressed upon a nation, and upon a nation difficult to deal with, then the educational influence of type and symbol became of value. And Egypt was a land of symbols. It will, perhaps, be nearer to the truth to lay chief stress upon the effect produced upon the mind of Moses by long and instructed familiarity with Egyptian symbols, than to press details, the similarity of which may be only superficial, and the significance of which may be very different. But it is further plainly in accordance with all historical analogy, that the Tabernacle work should be dependent upon Egyptian art and upon skill in manufactures

* Wilkinson's 'Ancient Egyptians,' I., pages 342, 343.

derived in Egypt—just as the material (Exod. xxxv. 20-29) came to a large extent straight from Egypt.

It would be impossible for an original Hebrew art to be born, Minerva-like, in a day. Not so does God work. It is conformable to the on the whole uncivilised state of the children of Israel, that only two artists are to be found of natural gifts sufficient for their highest effort; Bezaleel of Judah, Aholiab of Dan. Their names and tribes are a sufficient guarantee that we have to do with history, not with a priestly invention of after-ages. Far different were the large number of directors of the work of temple building in Solomon's time (1 Kings v. 16). And Bezaleel or Aholiab may have made a new artistic departure, yet they were still dependent upon the conditions of their education. And just as the Temple was indebted to Tyrian art (1 Kings vii. 13, 14) for some of its beauty, so the Tabernacle was indebted to Egyptian for much of its grace and symmetry. The object was to make their sanctuary as perfect and beautiful as possible. The size of the Tabernacle was only that of a large-sized tent. The greatness of its symbolism was supported by the care devoted to working up the best possible materials into the most perfect possible of forms.

The mediation, therefore, of both the symbolism and the art of the Mosaic institutions was Egyptian. What we should judge to be likely is found to be the fact. The symbolism has been suggested. The art has been learned. It will remain briefly to indicate some of the points of resemblance. There is judged to be an Egyptian colouring in the following particulars :

(1) The form of the ark and its covering ('the mercy-seat'), it is fairly clear, was after the Egyptian model, though its use and meaning were very different. Sacred arks, or boats, are found to be in frequent ritual use in ancient Egypt. And over them, on their cover, are to be observed two winged figures, between which is the symbol of deity, or divine illumination—'the Divine Spirit Nef, or Nou, or the sacred scarabæus, the sacred beetle of the sun, overshadowed by the wings of two figures of the goddess Thmei, or Truth.'*

Now the use to which the Ark of Moses was put—the symbolism of the cherubim (symbolic figures derived, probably, not from Egypt, but from an original of which the sphinxes and

* Wilkinson's 'Ancient Egyptians,' I., pages 267, 270, 271. Perhaps for a still more curious and older type see that figured from Rossellini, Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible,' I., page 106.

winged bulls of Egypt and Babylonia are traces), the totally divergent associations of the Ark—all these are far removed from Egypt, but the structure and arrangement are clearly suggested by an Egyptian type.

There is nothing necessarily corrupt or idolatrous in symbols of the Divine Presence, whose meaning is not a dark secret of priests, but the education of a people.

(2) Akin to this is the clear use of art and manufacture derived from Egypt, in the structure of the Tabernacle and the dress of the priests, and the instruments and ornaments of the sanctuary.

The threads spun by wise-hearted women, and dyed before using, as was the way of the Egyptian women (Exod. xxxv. 25);* the prominence and sacred use of the blue colour, probably an indigo dye, because the Egyptian colour was so;† the art of embroidery (Exod. xxvi. 36; xxviii. 39) and the use of gold thread in embroidery (Exod. xxxix. 3); the fine twined linen for which Egypt was specially famed; the working of bronze or brass and precious stones and gold and silver‡—all these and such like things are Egyptian.

* Wilkinson's 'Ancient Egyptians,' II., pages 79, 85.

† *Ibid.*, II., page 78.

‡ *Ibid.*, II., pages 67, 73, 80, 81, 136, 159.

The Egyptians were peculiarly skilful in the working of metals and the management of alloys, and were possibly possessed of secrets in this work which we have lost to-day. The Israelites had learned from them. They cast the golden calf. The use of natron made possible what M. Goguet (in Wilkinson) calls the very difficult operation of burning and reducing it to powder, and did not increase its pleasantness as a drink.* The Egyptians were accustomed to overlay with gold leaf, which probably in the earlier days of the art was thick. The overlaying of the ark of shittim wood with pure gold was in the Egyptian manner.†

(3) The fashion of the Tabernacle was of Egyptian mediation, as, indeed, if the history be real history, it was likely to be. Its form, its division, its aspect, were after the Egyptian type. The Holy of Holies was set in the west end, as in Egyptian temples, and had the same name in Egyptian, and the 'vail' had its counterpart in the curtains of golden tissue dividing off the Holy of Holies of an Egyptian temple.‡ The art of Bezaleel and Aholiab was of Egyptian type; but the significance of the

* Wilkinson's 'Ancient Egyptians,' II., pages 136, 138.

† *Ibid.*, II., pages 145, 147.

‡ Geikie's 'Hours with the Bible,' II., page 293.

Tent-temple which they constructed had nothing from Egypt.

Again, the use of linen and the prohibition of wool in the priest's official dress was the Egyptian custom, the fringes and the blue,* the Urim and Thummim,† symbols of Revelation

* Wilkinson's 'Ancient Egyptians,' II., pages 74, 91.

† URIM AND THUMMIM.

It is to be considered that the symbolic meaning of Revelation and Truth is given as their chief and only significance in Exod. xxviii. 30. They are to be symbols of the manner of the judgment of Israel 'upon Aaron's heart before the Lord perpetually.' May it be further suggested that the quasi-magical use of these symbolic ornaments for purposes of divination is a matter wholly of the imagination of commentators, misled by Josephus and Philo? An attentive consideration of the passages where they occur would seem to lead to this conclusion. Lev. viii. 8 does but relate the carrying out of Exod. xxviii. 30. Deut. xxxiii. 8 is a prayer: 'Let Thy Thummim and Thy Urim be with Thy holy one;' *i.e.*, 'Let Thy Truth and Thy Revelation be with Thy priest,' not only in symbol, but in reality. These are all the places in which they are spoken of in the Pentateuch. There are, further, two allusions to them—one in Ezra ii. 63, the other in Neh. vii. 65—quoted from the same document. Such priests as returned from captivity to Jerusalem in the then inchoate state of the renewed polity were to abstain from eating the holiest things, 'till there stood a priest according to Urim and according to Thummim;' *i.e.*, until a high priest was appointed to take the supervision of these things. Urim occurs by itself in two passages where a direct revelation seems to be intended to the high priest. In Num. xxvii. 21

and Truth (LXX. δῆλωσις καὶ ἀλήθεια), which, without going into the vexed question of their use, are clearly analogous in their symbolism to the image of Justice set with precious stones, worn by the Egyptian judge*—these things take their colour from Egypt.

It is possible also, as Hengstenberg suggests,† that the influence of a familiarity with Egyptian modes and ideas is to be found (1) in the association of the colour red with sin; (2) in the religious ethical significance of food-distinctions; (3) in what was, possibly, an institution of bands of holy women in connection with the Tabernacle (Exod. xxxviii. 8; compare Wilkinson, I., page 319); (4) in the institution of Nazarites and the growth of the hair as a sign of their separation; (5) and in dancing round the golden calf as a religious ceremony.

And, as has been pointed out, Moses, while leaving the government by the elders of the village, and probably by a central council, in-

Eleazar is to guide Joshua in difficulty by the judgment of Revelation (Urim). In 1 Sam. xxviii. 6 we are told that when Saul sought counsel in his difficulties 'the Lord answered neither by dreams (*i.e.*, to himself), neither by Revelation (Urim; *i.e.*, to the high priest), nor by the Prophets.'

* Wilkinson's 'Ancient Egyptians,' II., page 205.

† Hengstenberg's 'Egypt and the Books of Moses.'

roduced priests and judges, both familiar to him in Egypt.

To sum up the conclusion from all these facts, which have come to light in modern times to a great extent, the influence of Egypt which is plainly found in the Mosaic institutions is perfectly natural to the then history of Israel and to the times of Moses. In the Mosaic epoch it could scarcely be otherwise; but we have no historic warrant for supposing that such an influence was natural, or even possible, at any other period of Israel's national existence. In after times the influences and the dangers were more cosmopolitan, and less and less Egyptian.

The aspect, therefore, which the Pentateuch presents in all parts of it, both to the habits and institutions which had grown up in the midst of Israel during their four hundred years' sojourn in Egypt, and presents to the wisdom of the Egyptians, to their ideas and the arts of their civilisation, is natural and necessary to the time of Moses, but not natural to any other time.

3. Such was the material which Moses had to work upon. We come next to the essential principles of his mission, as an inspired prophet and lawgiver. If the record of the law be weighed, they will easily be distinguished as a

connected progress of the revelation of the living God. The principles of the new departure of the Divine commission of Moses, the prophet and interpreter and servant of God, are threefold: (1) The creation and election of Israel from sorrow and from bondage into a nation whose purpose is to be a treasure of property, an inheritance of Jahveh or Jehovah (סגלת יהוה נהלת יהוה).^{*} He, the next of kin, redeemed it from Egypt, as He redeemed Jacob from all evil.[†] The selected family is developed by the commission of Moses into a selected nation. (2) The principle consequent upon this of the Lord, Jehovah or Jahveh, visiting, dwelling amongst His people, to deliver, to guide, and to govern,—the principle of the Divine Presence and of the Theocracy, *i.e.*, of the immediate government of God through certain legal and social instrumentalities. There hence arises a need for a provision for the forgiveness of sin—a need for the confirming, enlarging and nationally centralising of the primitive and patriarchal sanctions of sacrifice. Also it will be seen that to carry this principle home to a nation greatly in need of education, just loose from hard and exhausting slavery, there would be needed something more than its impressive enunciation. It must

^{*} Exod. xix. 5 : Deut. iv. 20.

[†] Exod. vi. 6, 7.

be conveyed by the object lesson of concrete symbols and objective social ceremonial, round which the great idea might cluster. The name of Jehovah was hallowed in the institutions of Israel.

(3) As a third principle, still essentially consequent upon the nation being the peculiar and treasured property of Jehovah or Jahveh, there arises the principle of the brotherhood and unity of Israel. The family and tribal brotherhood and unity is extended to the nation, as the greater family of God Himself ('the Rock that begat thee,' Deut. xxxii. 18).

Now it cannot surely be disputed that these principles and ideas are as original to Moses as they are unique in the history of the nations. And the mission of Moses was first to be the instrument of the nation's mighty deliverance 'out of the iron furnace of Egypt' (Deut. iv. 20), and secondly, in the exercise of his prophetic office, to bring these principles home to the minds and hearts of every member of a redeemed people. The free polity of Israel, besides being the most beautiful constitution in the world, has an aspect of respect for all alike. Its central feature is faith in an unseen, present, living God, manifested by His marvellous acts, which ought to be had in remembrance, and in the symbols and types of His

Presence. The enthusiasm which the better part of Israel had for the living Jehovah, which is a phenomenon unique in history, must be scientifically accounted for. And it can only be accounted for by the historic reality of the mission of Moses.

And, further, we have the sanction of our Divine Lord that the manner in which these cardinal principles were embodied was devised by the sagacity and educated power of Moses, guided, but not effaced, by inspiration. It was the work of a lawgiver. 'Moses gave you the law.'

Now, if as Ewald held, and as common-sense suggests, the ten commandments, 'considered with reference to their intrinsic character and significance, imply a religion originally taught with a perfect living fulness,' surely the principles of the mission of Moses even more strongly imply the same. In the hands of genius here is motive-power. To the children of Israel, under the conditions in which they were, they would have been unintelligible and forceless, unless they had been clothed and upheld by institutions and symbols. Here, then, is a criterion which can scarcely fail us. Whatever in the institutions of Israel proceeds essentially from the principles of the Mosaic New Departure is of Mosaic age. After-ages may

have added, but they did not inspire. What, then, is the essential clothing of these three Divine ideas? Let us consider the derivatives of the three several principles. (1) From the principle of the nation being a chosen possession of Jahveh comes 'the law of Holiness' worked out into ceremonial detail in order to impress it formally and visibly upon the every-day details of their life. Jahveh, who brought the nation out of the land of Egypt, hallowed them. (2) From the principle of the visiting, the dwelling of Jahveh amongst His people, comes the symbol of the tabernacle as its visible support and witness—the more stately, more beautiful tent of their Divine Leader, and their king present with them, going or staying,—comes the renewed institution of sacrifice and its kinds suited to varying needs—comes the order of the priesthood and Levites, supported by tithes, to carry on a national system. (3) From the principle of the brotherhood and unity of Israel, enlarged from patriarchal institutions to be the family of God, arise centralised National Feasts to keep alive the memory of the nation's origin and to keep alive a sense of its brotherhood—arise laws of kindness to their poorer brethren—arise laws to soften, if not to tend to extinguish, the conditions of slavery, laws against usury, and laws to hold

in check avarice in the possession of land. The possessions of all men were the benefactions of God.

The laws and institutions of a lawgiver have a meaning and tendency, and that meaning and tendency gave them birth. The laws and institutions of the Pentateuch have a clear meaning and tendency, and that meaning and tendency is to enforce and embody for a nation, just constituted and difficult to teach, the principles of the Divine legation of Moses. They were of Mosaic age, therefore.

4. But, in the next place, every able legislator will look forward. His sphere is not only the present, but the future. He plants and waters the stability and good government of future ages. We come, in the last place, to the phenomena presented for the most part by the book of Deuteronomy. We have here, on the face of it, to let it tell its own story, speeches, a republication of parts of the legislation, with some additions and in an altered aspect, a solemn warning, a great poem, and a blessing of the tribes, with which Moses in the end of his life, when the children of the wandering were grown up, exhorted them to remind them of their charge, and to safeguard their future. These also, on the face of it, were gathered together and edited in the time of Joshua—a

very natural conclusion, which accounts for the phenomena presented. Now, so-called 'criticism' asserts this collection to be the work of pious fraud about the time of Manasseh. It was, say they, the book which Hilkiah the priest found in the Temple, somebody having lately invented and placed it there a little time before the times of the good king Josiah. Now, for this there is not an atom of evidence. It by no means follows that the book which Hilkiah found was not the whole of the Law. Josiah's after-action seems to presuppose this as much as anything. Doubtless the book of Deuteronomy *was* found then, and may have considerably influenced the men of that day. But it does by no means follow that it was invented by no one knows who a little before. The probabilities are all in favour of its having ancient sanctions. (Let the reader attentively consider 2 Kings xxii. 13 and the reference to 'our fathers.')

Professor Moses Stuart* tells us that in France, during the Reign of Terror, they obliterated all copies of the Scriptures round about Paris, so that afterwards the Bible Society could not find a single copy for many weeks to print a new edition from. The reign of Manasseh was a reign of terror. And the

* 'Old Testament Canon.'

finding of ancient documents, which perchance some pious soul had hidden away somewhere in the Temple, is perfectly natural. But that the document found had been invented recently by some quite unknown person is perfectly unnatural. Moreover, the facts presented by Deuteronomy make it impossible. The difficulties of such a supposition are far greater than the difficulties of accepting its plainly historical account of itself. It is quite impossible to imagine that a man of Moses' ability and heart could have left his people without any last words. The character of the words themselves is such as not to fit with any after-age. It will not be possible to do more than to suggest a few convergent lines of proof for this assertion.*

It will be noticed that the contents of Deuteronomy, as the final work of Moses, are quite natural taken in connection with the statements of the history. The social, political, and religious constitution of the nation had been now established for years. Its symbolism was familiar, its meaning clearer. The children had been brought up in its teaching. But the outlook was towards the Land of Promise. New difficulties and dangers awaited them, and

* An attempt is made to treat the subject a little more fully in Note B, at the end of this chapter.

a new and more settled manner of life. It was for the great and reverend personality of Moses to influence them for the last time. It was, then, likely for him to emphasise and bring out the *spirit* of their constitution—to impress upon them its real meaning, which he had chiefly at heart. It was also likely for him to go over such parts of the law as possibly experience had shown needed dwelling upon or even modification,* and to endeavour to meet the changing conditions, difficulties, and dangers of the future. This is what we find. But the contents of Deuteronomy are inconceivable as a pious fraud of about the time of Manasseh, written to promote the centralised worship of Jerusalem as against the worship of the high places. In the first place, if this were so, the supposed author must have set himself the task of speaking of things established for ages, or else so changed by the passage of time as to be well-nigh forgotten, always in the future. He was to allow himself in no anachronism unsuited to the Mosaic age, and in no allusion whatever to anything that had taken place since in the history of his nation. He was to be a man, consequently, of surpassing ability, and to remain unknown; a man of the most

* It is to be remembered also that Deuteronomy is addressed to the laity.

striking beauty, truth, and greatness of character, and yet the promulgator of a fraud. But even so the task was beyond his power. For the very object for which he wrote he leaves out. There is no allusion, direct or indirect, to Jerusalem whatever.

It will be noticed that there are two influences at work in the Pentateuch with regard to the centralising of worship. One is the custom of Israel from the times of the patriarchs, of local altars. It is exceedingly probable that the old law and custom is retained in Exod. xx. 24-26. But on the other hand, for wise purposes, the polity of Moses was essentially centralising—to gather together in one, not to scatter. There were, therefore, two influences at work—blameless patriarchal custom, and the inspired, essentially centralising system of Moses. It is quite possible that Moses foresaw that the centralising system must work gradually. And this double influence in the Pentateuch accounts for the instances of blameless nonconformity which every now and then the after-history discloses. The old law and the influence which was to centralise it lay side by side. Further, the Tabernacle was the type of the Mosaic system, and clearly a transitory type; and in looking forward to the establishment of his people in their own land Moses

gives directions for a central sanctuary, but they are quite indefinite. Whereas a centre of worship and national reunion is directed as the outcome of the Divine guidance, there is no hint of Jerusalem as that centre. Ebal and Gerizim (Deut. xi. 29; xxvii. 12, 13) are forecast as the scene of a ceremony of the realisation of which surely there is no historical trace after the days of Joshua (Josh. viii. 33). But no local habitation or name is given to what, however, is presupposed as a providential centre for the national life.

Is it possible that an author of later ages should go out of his way to mention Ebal and Gerizim, and yet make no mention of Jerusalem, to exalt the exclusive influence of which was *ex hypothesi* one of the main objects of his writing at all?*

Compare in this connection Deut. xxvi.; and notice the striking archaism of the expression 'a nomad (wandering) Syrian was my Father' (אֲנִי used in its primitive sense); consider also the primitive nature of the ceremony.

The forward look of the legislation of Deuteronomy is natural to the time of Moses. The people are warned against a new form of

* This observation will have special force for the time to which D is assigned by the critics. The Northern Kingdom had ceased to exist, and Ebal and Gerizim were in the hands of the Cuthæans.

idolatry, which was apparently common to the ancient inhabitants of Canaan, but not a danger of Egypt.* In Deut. iv. 19 the people are warned against the worship of the sun, or the moon, or the host of heaven, the most ancient idolatries of the neighbourhood into which they are come or coming. Certain beneficent regulations as to houses are surely not unnatural to this forward look; so are rules for the parental instruction of children. And it is not a quite necessary conclusion that the king-legislation of Deut. xvii. 14 to the end is post-Mosaic, nor is its Mosaic origin necessarily incompatible with the after action of Samuel. If the matter be carefully looked into, there seems reason for believing it is quite the other way. In the first place, it may be observed that it is in no way outside the sagacity of Moses to perceive that the ideal theocracy might become too high for the frailty of his people, and that pressure of the example of other nations, and lower considerations of policy, might bring about a popular desire for a king. This is the foresight of Moses. And observe that he neither prescribes nor in any way recommends a king. His precepts are merely by allowance—‘If thou

* Driver's ‘Introduction,’ page 82: ‘The ancient worship of the sun and moon is attested even by the names of places in Canaan.’

shalt say, I will place over me a king, like all the nations which are around me.' The implication is that it is against the spirit of the Divine distinctive constitution; it is an imitation of 'the nations'; it is a wilful desire of the people, '*I will place over me a king.*' But if they must have their king, then he must not be an alien; he must not swell against his brethren in pride and riches; he must keep himself from Egypt, and must fear God, that his kingdom may become hereditarily stable. Observe the Egyptian cast of the law. Samuel, apparently deeply imbued with the spirit of the Mosaic constitution, acted precisely as such a person might be expected to act. He forcibly points out to the people that their desire is against the spirit of their Divine constitution; but seeing that the popular wish was strong, and, on the lower level of expediency, not without reason, he allows their king with a protest, and exhorts both king and people to fear the Lord. He exactly copies the Deuteronomic model.

Amongst other things, further, the purely theocratic spirit of the 'song' of Moses (Deut. xxxii.) is to be attentively considered as unlikely in the work of a later poet after the time of the monarchy of David and Solomon. To attribute it to times later than Moses is an

anachronism of ideas (compare Psalm ii.). Besides, the vigour and beauty of the original is of the earliest form of poetry.

To conclude, upon a general survey of the facts the immediate Mosaic authorship of the greater part of Deuteronomy is distinctly, frequently, and emphatically asserted both in the text of Deuteronomy and in the book of Joshua ; and the contents are such as can naturally be attributed to Moses, but not to anyone else. We have here a strong and repeated literary tradition of the Hebrews, and its verdict is upheld by the facts.*

5. Before leaving the subject of the legislation of the Pentateuch, the feature which perhaps above all others characterises it most distinctively must not be passed without due notice. We mean its ideal type. We have an ideal social system, with ideal safeguards. We have an ideal unity of the nation. We have an ideal pure worship of the one true Lord. And above all, we have the ideal, which broke down in the hands of human sin and infirmity, of a nation whose only King is the unseen Jehovah, reigning in an ideal righteousness. This ideal type is stamped upon the legislation as a whole, and even pervades its smallest

* For an attempt to meet some of the alleged difficulties see Note B.

details. Now, for this ideal type there is adequate motive-power in the Mosaic age, but later not. If we grant, as we have seen reason to be bound to grant, the sympathy of the living God with the oppressed, and the story of their great deliverance from a great and notable nation by the 'mighty hand and outstretched arm' of Jehovah alone—if we find ourselves bound to receive this as historical truth, then in these 'marvellous works' we have at once the only adequate scientific account of the phenomena presented by the history of Israel and by the aims of their great men, and also the only power capable of giving the legislation of the Pentateuch the ideal aspect we find in it. After-ages would lack the requisite elasticity and impulse. For the ideal is brightest at its birth; it is dimmed in the process of the centuries. And after ages of civilisation and corruption, legislation tends to aim at the expedient and possible rather than at the typically best. To give one illustration to make what is meant clearer. The law of the inalienable inheritance, the Sabbatic year, the jubilee, the repartition of land—these laws, though possibly rendered less difficult of realisation by what we have judged to be the pre-Mosaic village custom of the children of Israel, yet, it should seem, would not have been possible legislation in later times

—say in the times of Isaiah, for instance.* The influence necessary to give them currency would have been lacking.

Thus the ideal stamp of the legislation, towards which all that is best in the later history of the nation is seen, in fact, to struggle up—this ideal stamp is one of the indications that the legislation is of Mosaic age.

6. From all these things there follows, therefore, a conclusion. We have endeavoured in a way necessarily brief, but it is hoped not untrue, to gather up some of the indications presented by the Pentateuch as to the age and authorship both of its histories and of its legislation as we find them. It should seem that convergent and cumulative lines of reasoning point to the Pentateuch being of Mosaic age in the main. It is so because it is historical. It is so because the indications of its environment are indications of Mosaic times. In the Mosaic age, too, we find the only impetus capable of giving the ideal aspect of the legislation. The Pentateuch is practically and in the main, in its present form, of Mosaic age.

There both are and may be additions, relatively quite unimportant, of an explanatory and complementary nature, the result of later editions of the law.

* Compare Isa. v. 8.

But our inquiry has not decided as yet the extent or manner in which the immediate hand and influence of Moses is to be traced in the *writing* of the Pentateuch, *i.e.*, in what sense the constant traditional expression 'the law of Moses' is to be understood. This is a question of purely archæological interest, but of very real interest indeed. The answer to it can only be given along the lines of the strong probabilities of historical analogy. It is observable, then, in the first place, that the use made of the carefully preserved early tradition and written documents which would seem to underlie the book of Genesis, is to cause their convergence upon a certain purpose which becomes sufficiently apparent. There is a clearly recognisable unity of design. The creation of the world and all that is therein is sketched in outline in order to reach the initial state of man and domestic animals to be treated in greater detail. The history of the world and all its families, and the rising of its nationalities, is sketched in most deeply interesting outline of remote and moving life in order to leave it, and to converge it upon the history of the selected family. There is one historic motive throughout. It is a model of historic art. In the next place it is to be noticed that in the drama of the Exodus and the Desert, there is little in which

Moses is not concerned. It might be entitled 'the Acts of Moses.' And the details of the legislation, both in the conservation of ancient customs as stepping-stones to better things, in the addition of what is essentially new, and in the preparation for the future, are seen to be pervaded, and demonstratively pervaded, by one spirit. There is in the first part of the Pentateuch unity of design, in the second part of the Pentateuch unity of spirit. Now, unity of design and unity of spirit argue under God the uniformity of a master mind. The Pentateuch, therefore, as it stands, as the facts seem to indicate, 'came by Moses,' *i.e.*, was written under his superintendence. But the evidence as clearly seems to point to something else. The work of elaborating and systematising the historical material which was at the command of Moses, and the work of codifying what was ancient and what was new in the legislation (though, as we have seen, this codifying was imperfect) —all this work and all these details occupy a large and extended field. The work of administering justice was found in practice too great for Moses to cope with it unaided. He found the help, and was advised to use the help, of seventy elders and others, of the same inspiration, who were made by the grace of God of like mind, to carry out the

administration of cases of justice. It is, then, an historic probability that he also found collaborators in his literary, historical, and legislative work. This may even be a clear suggestion of certain observed combined variations and similarities of style evidenced in the Pentateuch as it now stands. It should seem, therefore, that we have scientific ground for the inference and conclusion that the Pentateuch as we now possess it, with some relatively insignificant exceptions, was drawn up in all its parts under the immediate superintendence and inspiring guidance of Moses by the aid of unknown collaborators. The poems and discourses ascribed to him are judged to be immediately his, both from evidences of style and from a reasonable trust in the veracity of tradition in so great a case. And these, with the rest of Deuteronomy, were collected and set forth as they now stand by Joshua and those who helped him. In fine, Moses, to use a modern expression, is responsible for the Pentateuch as a whole, but not responsible unaided. The Pentateuch must also have passed through several editions, of which one can scarcely with probability be refused to the age of Solomon, and of which the last can with some degree of confidence be attributed to Ezra and the men of his day.

NOTES.

NOTE A. *On the supposed invalidity of literary tradition in Hebrew history.*

The literary traditions of the Hebrews are treated with the least possible respect by Professor Driver and the theoretical school of 'critics' generally. It is part of that easy historical scepticism which the theory has made inevitable. For if Hebrew literary traditions are to be received, the theory vanishes. It will be observed, therefore, that the theoretical school of critics approach the question of the value of Hebrew literary tradition with the strongest possible bias. And if the theory which gives this bias is found to be historically untenable, then the *à priori* presumption is taken away. The literary traditions of the Hebrews will tend to reassert themselves, and it will be possible to make a scientific estimate of their value. But it is precisely because this is not on the face of it obvious, that the decisions of the 'critics' as to literary traditions assert for themselves a value which is not their due. The reason of the 'critical' decision not being given, the reader is apt to imagine that behind it there lie reasons which only an expert can rightly appreciate, and he accepts the decision on the authority of the critic's 'Hebrew scholarship' or 'deep erudition.' But it would be well to bear in mind that this is not so. A certain theory as to the evolution of the Hebrew literary remains has been accepted on certain supposed grounds by the 'critic.' This theory involves direct opposition to all Hebrew literary traditions. It scatters scepticism and uncertainty everywhere. If this theory is to be accepted, their literary tradition must be ignored of necessity. It is, in fact, theory *versus* literary tradition. This is the very point at issue. But the 'critic' gains a fictitious advantage in the argument by this not being immediately apparent on the surface. Speaking, for instance, of

Moses' blessing (Deut. xxxiii.), Professor Driver says :* 'The external evidence afforded by the title' (verse 1) 'is slight.' Why slight? Because of Hebrew scholarship, or internal evidence? Not so. Professor Driver tells us : 'Internal evidence, from the obscure nature of some of the allusions, is indecisive, and offers scope for diverging conclusions.' But, surely, it is just the obscure nature of the allusions that are manifest tokens of antiquity. It is not probable that any person would have, as it were, forged Moses' name, and also gone in for obscure allusions. Also, the blessing must, for critical reasons, have been before the time of the divided monarchy. Yet, again, it will not fit the times of the monarchy. And who was likely to have written it in the times of the Judges? Such a blessing is natural to Moses as the father of the nation, as it was to Jacob, the father of the family.

The internal evidence and character of the composition is strongly in favour of the external evidence of the title.

Again, the solemn and repeated ascription of the Song to Moses (Deut. xxxi., xxxii.) is borne out thoroughly by the Hebrew and the internal characteristics. But because the future is poetically spoken of as past, the Song being declared to be written for the future, and because Moses dwells on the future with a tender and prophetic solicitude, forsooth, Professor Driver will have it long after the time of Moses. By the 'critic' no form of Divine forecast or poetic license can be admitted, even though the powers implied in such a forecast are only those of the sagacity of a great and wise man. The emphatic ascription of the Song to Moses is entirely ignored.

And yet, again, the repeated and most distinct ascriptions of the institutions of the Law and of the several laws to Moses and to the times of Moses and Aaron are entirely ignored.

The ascription of the addresses in Deuteronomy to Moses, which is most distinct, definite, detailed, and

* Page 91.

solemn (Deut. i. 1-6), is still more curiously got rid of. Professor Driver (page 83) satisfies himself with asserting that 'Deuteronomy does not claim to be written by Moses; whenever the author speaks himself, he purports to give a description in the third person of what Moses did or said. The true "author" of Deuteronomy is thus the writer who introduces Moses in the third person.' That is to say, he satisfies himself by begging the question and confounding the issue. There is no doubt that the addresses, the song, and the blessing, and the notice of the death of Moses were arranged as they now stand in Joshua's time, and, with a strong degree of probability, granting the historical character of the times, by Joshua himself. But this does not make him the 'author' of Deuteronomy, but only the attester and arranger. He stands in the same position as some have thought the writers of the last verses of the Gospel according to St. John to stand. Was it not possible for Moses to have delivered his last charge to his people, as charges and judgments on important and grave occasions are delivered, first writing it out, and then delivering it? Nay, was it not likely?

Was it not also likely that the other two studied, poetical, and noble compositions were written out before they were publicly recited? The matter is to be judged by the habits of the times, and writing out was clearly congenial to the times (consider Exod. xxiv. 4, 7), and the mature products of Moses' genius were clearly well deliberated, and not done in a day. It does not in the least follow that 'the writer who purports to give a description in the third person of what Moses did or said is the true "author" of Deuteronomy.' Nor is this suggestion a natural one, unless we are dealing with a legend; and there is nothing to lead us to suppose that we are dealing with legend, but, on the contrary. All that the writer in the third person does is with definite detail of time and place and occasion and object to introduce the address, the song, and the blessing as known to him to

be the work of Moses. It is only an additional attestation of the Mosaic authorship. The strong individuality and genius which Professor Driver shows to pervade the addresses, and which are as strongly manifest in the song and the blessing, point to Moses. The immediate personality of address to the people, connecting the speaker and author with the acts, authority, and spirit of Moses, as strongly asserts the Mosaic authorship. And the implied environment and atmosphere also distinctly imply Moses. Without the foregoing attestations no doubt could exist in whose name and individuality the addresses, the song, and the blessing are put forward. If Moses were not their author, the writer of the fiction did two things: he with inimitable genius personified Moses, and worthily personified Moses, and, to make the fraud more barefaced, affixed a deliberate and solemn attestation, going into false details, to mislead us by affirming the witness of a contemporary to the Mosaic authorship.

That is the exact state of the matter, and the true point at issue. It is theory against the facts and internal evidence of Hebrew literary tradition. And it is evident, with regard to the further remarks of Professor Driver, that, whatever may be our view as to the usage of later times in recording speeches, here the probability of the case, the words being the last words of *Moses*, and the strongly-marked individuality of the words themselves, go to prove that we have the very words and compositions of Moses himself.

Now, if with Dr. Kay, who Professor Driver is kind enough to certify was 'a sound Hebrew scholar,' we believe that the anonymous nature of the second part of Isaiah is a pure fiction, and against the critical evidence of style and pragmatism,* if we believe that Mr. Wright's arguments against the anonymous nature of parts of Zechariah have not been answered and are not likely to

* Not to mention the very useful little book by the Rev. Michael Rosenthal.

be, we have ceased to believe that the circle of educated Hebrew society, who were the keepers of the national literature, were accustomed to insert great anonymous poems in the body of their well-known and famous writers' works. What has no parallel in any civilised literary history we do not believe exists in Hebrew literary history. If, further, we believe that the laborious, learned, and thoroughly capable work of Dr. Pusey, whom, possibly, we might venture to credit with a little knowledge of Hebrew, and the thoroughly creditable work of Professor Fuller upon the prophet Daniel, wait for the answer they have not received, we shall be still further from ascribing a futile and unhistorical character to Hebrew literature. And yet, again, if we believe that Wellhausen's estimate of the epoch of the Captivity and the return is about as fatuous and unsatisfactory work, from a scientific point of view, as has appeared for the last hundred years,* we shall be still further from distrusting the literary power and grasp of the circle of educated Hebrew opinion, of which there are tokens of the existence at every period of Hebrew history, and to which the keeping of their literary treasures was confided by Divine Providence for the world.

There remains to point out two things : first, that, viewed comparatively, a truly historical and literary spirit is the peculiar and distinguishing attribute of the Hebrew history from the earliest age of the world. When it is found in a much less degree in the distant past in other nations, the true spirit of history, both in depth, individuality, and interest, is to be discovered in the earliest Hebrew remains. And the reason is that there is in them adequate historical motive. Life is of more many-sided

* If this should seem to anyone to savour too much of mere assertion, given the necessary time and opportunity, we should be prepared to attempt the proof in detail.

A few things are suggested in proof in Chapter III.

interest and importance, and tends towards a definite aim. But, secondly, to have a clear idea of the subject of Hebrew literary traditions, it will be necessary briefly to consider the phenomena presented to us by the books of the Psalms.

1. It is not possible to compare for a moment the literary remains of Babylonia, Assyria, and Egypt, of India, China, and Persia, which come from the earliest ages, with the Hebrew history of the same or much earlier age, in respect of character, or historic depth, or purpose.

Full of interest and importance are these ancient fragments, and the freshness of the nature-worship poetry of this most ancient childhood of the world. But to the Hebrew scriptures they are 'as water is to wine.' They are rather the elements out of which history may be made than history itself, and they are not infrequently quite clearly mixed up with mythical and legendary accretions. To reduce the Hebrew literature to the same level is the aim of theoretical criticism; but is it for a moment possible? The earliest literary remains of the other nations are rather the means by which ancient life and character may be guessed at and elaborated than the characteristic, historically-affected delineation of men and women that once lived. They are deficient both in historical and individual characteristicalness, if one might so say. And this being so, the literary tradition which accompanies them, though treated always with respect by the patient and capable inquirer, is not to be compared in amount or quality with that which flourishes in the historic and literary atmosphere of what are known as the Holy Scriptures. Legend or myth, again, is almost always anonymous, and by the very scientific account of its origin must be. With the birth of literary tradition we have reached historic conditions.

Perhaps by a little brief illustration what is meant may be made clearer. The most ancient part of Sanskrit

literature are the Vedic hymns. They are an interesting, fresh, and most ancient combination of nature-poetry and nature-worship. They probably take us back to the primeval home of the primitive Aryans—at any rate, in spirit and derivation. But apart from their manifest age there is little, if anything, connecting with national history or of individual type in them. Tradition hands down their authors, and in the several divisions of the poems the poems by the same author tend to be collected together. But, says Professor Monier Williams, ‘Sanskrit literature, embracing as it does nearly every branch of knowledge, is entirely deficient in one department. It is wholly destitute of trustworthy historical records. Hence little or nothing is known of the lives of ancient Indian authors.’* Yet scientific criticism accepts the verdict of tradition as to the authors of the Hymns, until in the tenth Mandara, the most recent division which is said to contain hymns not inferior in age or poetic quality to the generality of Vedic hymns, it is said, many gods and fictitious personages appear in the list of the rishis or authors of the poems.

The earliest poems and sayings of the Chinese, again, present similar facts. There is but little of individual character and historical environment. When some sort of connected history is attempted, Dr. Legge thus characterises it : ‘It is without the slightest tincture of literary ability in the composition, or the slightest indication of judicial opinion on the part of the writer.’† It is rather a bald string of facts than a history. Yet no one doubts

* Monier Williams, ‘Hinduism,’ page 19. Compare Max Müller’s translations and the article on ‘Sanskrit Literature’ in the ninth edition of the ‘Encyclopædia Britannica.’

† Article ‘China,’ in the ninth edition of the ‘Encyclopædia Britannica.’ Compare the translations in Max Muller’s series of ‘Sacred Books of the East.’

the literary tradition assigning the authors of the fresh and interesting poems of the Shee King, or that Tang, or Woo Wang, or Chow, or Confucius, said what is attributed to them in the Shoo King.

There is the same absence of historical genius in the ancient remains of Babylonia, Egypt, Assyria, and Persia *mutatis mutandis*. Yet literary traditions are always respected where they can be found. But when we come to the Hebrew literature the difference is felt at once. We are in an historic atmosphere, and surrounded by men and women of deep, differentiated, and most interesting character. In the first pages we discover at once that touch of nature which makes the whole world kin. A characteristic speech is assigned to Noah's father; a characteristic poem to Lamech, the first polygamist. Genealogies are carefully kept. Every one of the various literary treasures of the Hebrew nation are carefully assigned to authors otherwise, for the most part, historically known or historically associated. It is the exception when this is not so. Hebrew literary tradition stands on a different level. The stream of life that flows in the Holy Scriptures is deeper, more sacred, more important to humanity. In the greatest things, which are spiritual, here is the region of enlightenment and progress. Hebrew literary tradition is guaranteed by the historical genius of the family and of the people amongst whom it sprang up. The only purpose of the critical apparatus of the theorists is to evacuate the Hebrew annals of their historical power, and to reduce them to the level of the annals of the other contemporary nations. But the attentive reader will have observed that this is just the point at issue. We have been inquiring whether this is possible.

2. But, secondly, it may be said the titles of the Psalms cannot be upheld, or the book of Ecclesiastes was not written by Solomon. It will at once be apparent that it will be impossible here to cover the ground of so large a subject. It will only be possible to make a few sugges-

tions, and to refer the reader to the careful introductions in the 'Speaker's Commentary' on these books, which have by no means ceased to be of value. It will be observed that Wellhausen's theory of Judaism taints Professor Driver's judgment as to the phenomena presented by the Psalter, as how could it do otherwise? All liturgical notices in the titles must belong to the time of the second Temple, because Professor Driver has settled that there was little or no music in the first.* It is strange that these same titles should have become unintelligible to the Egyptian translators of the LXX, during the time of the flourishing of the second Temple, if this be so. Nay, it is incredible. It is obvious, further, that when Professor Driver says it is not likely that David was 'a man of the deep and intense spiritual feeling reflected in the Psalms that bear his name' (page 355), that the theory he has accepted could lead him to no other conclusion. With no antecedent history of his nation worth attending to; with the legends of Moses and Joseph and Abraham not even having taken shape, but merely floating on the popular tongue as nursery stories float; and without any literature but poetic fragments, anonymous and without true bearing, David the king indeed had no objects of reflection capable of creating that historic maturity which the Psalms attributed to him disclose. But if the theory falls, and a man of strong genius as well as a man of war for his nation (and the combination has often been seen) were brought up in the midst of an historic atmosphere which moved the very heart of him to deep reflection, and if such a man were trained in the school of much personal sorrow and disappointment, then the poems attributed to him are no anachronism. The times were ripe for them. It is thought that the present fashion of attributing the products of the deepest genius and reflection to times that can be proved to be historically barren of just those qualities, in the teeth of their historical attribution to

* Page 359.

periods of clear literary impulse, will pass away. It is certain, for instance, that wherever you place Psalm xxii., it will be impossible to make it fit the personal conditions of any ancient writer, known or unknown, or to twist its words into any rational and immediate apposition to the fortunes of the nation. It only fits the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, of which, unless the evidence had been overwhelming, it might readily have been imagined a poetic description after the event.

Of Professor Driver's imposing array of arguments against the historical value of the titles, there might be given the following analysis into three parts: The first part should be arguments clearly arising out of prejudices engendered by his theory of the rise of Hebrew literature in general. The second part should be arguments of mere opinion, which the slightest *per contra* trustworthy literary tradition would sweep away at once. And the third part should be arguments which, when fairly weighed, make for the general value of the titles. It should be carefully remembered that the Lamedh of the author (for instance, in לִדָּוִד), which is the general style of the ascriptions, has a limited amount of ambiguity attaching to it—an ambiguity which is absent from the ascriptions of Deuteronomy, the Prophets, and the historical books. It is highly probable that, just as 'The Psalms of David' is the title in the Prayer-Book in spite of the attribution of the Psalms to other authors, and notably of one, with strong confirmation of internal evidence, to Moses, just so the Lamedh auctoris is used in the Hebrew liturgical collection somewhat loosely of non-Davidic psalms. But the attentive reader will observe that just this circumstance involves truly Davidic psalms. The distribution of the really Davidic psalms to the various periods of David's life in the 'Speaker's Commentary,' as it forms interesting undesigned coincidences with it, so will it be probably found to be sound in the main.

It is far from proved that Solomon is not the author of

Ecclesiastes ; but in view of the tremendous and ideal reputation for wisdom that Solomon obtained, and of the ideal use of his name in the Book of Wisdom, where it is certain that no historical attribution of authorship is at all intended, it is clear that the so-called 'wisdom' literature stands by itself, and is to be differently estimated from the rest.

NOTE B. *The authorship of Deuteronomy.*

'Even though it were clear that the first four books of the Pentateuch were written by Moses,' says Professor Driver, 'it would be difficult to sustain the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy.*' However much misgiving we may have as to the critical soundness of the process which reduces what goes before to the level of legend, here we are presumed to be on ground not debatable. Here we may not escape the authorities ; and the authorities have spoken. Deuteronomy is not the work of Moses. It is strange that the part of the Pentateuch selected for this exhibition of assurance is just that of which the Mosaic authorship is directly and repeatedly asserted. It is enough to believe that Moses was the mediator of the former part of the Pentateuch. Here Hebrew literary tradition asserts his authorship, and in no uncertain tone. It is asserted in the most detailed, emphatic, and solemn manner. Let the reader consider, for instance, Deut. i. 1-5, xxxi. 28-30.

It is possible to review some of the principal arguments which are used to substantiate this at first sight somewhat curious 'critical' conclusion. They may be grouped under four heads :

1. The absence of historical allusion to Deuteronomy till after the time of Isaiah, when it comes into prominence.
2. Discrepancies of the legislation with the supposed J E and the supposed P.

* Page 77.

3. Differences of style and language.

4. General considerations of standpoint and likelihood.

It is to be carefully observed that the undertone of Professor Driver's comments is the undertone of one who entirely ignores the possibility that we have to do with a great, interesting, and living history. It is a foregone conclusion that this cannot be. The account of recent history, for instance, and the moral enforced from it cannot be derived from the experience of Moses, the man of God, recapitulating and reviewing in a living and real manner facts of importance to his hearers. On the face of it he is encouraging his successor, Joshua, and his people that have grown up with him to go forward to face the difficulties of Canaan by a recitation with his own comments of what Jehovah has already achieved for them in the conquest of Sihon and Og. But 'the dependence of D for his history upon J E is generally recognised by critics,' says Professor Driver (page 77, note 1).^{*} Yet, on the other hand, the exceeding appropriateness and naturalness and beauty of Deuteronomy as addressed to the people generally, as drawing out the spirit and religious aim of their religious constitution, as dealing in the same spirit even with the special laws by way of illustration, emphasis, addition, or explanation of motive, all this does Professor Driver satisfactorily recognise (pages 71-74). 'Nowhere else in the Old Testament,' he says even, 'do we breathe such an atmosphere of generous devotion to God, and of large-hearted benevolence towards man; and nowhere else is it shown with the same fulness of detail how these principles may be made to permeate the entire life of the community.' Surely, if there was any 'living fulness' in the mission of Moses, the prophet, the faithful servant in all his house, the man of God, surely this is quite what we might justly expect from his

^{*} Again, part of Deut. i. 9-17 in its 'phrases seems borrowed from Numb. xi.' (page 75, note 1).

old age. And from a table provided by Professor Driver, in which Deuteronomy is compared with the supposed J E and P, we may see at a glance how all this is intimately connected, as its living spirit, with the constitution and polity of which Moses is the author and exponent. And so, as we pass on, we see how excellently is fulfilled the purpose which very probably Joshua in the preface (Deut. i. 5) tells us was in the mind of Moses—to 'set forth and impress the principles of' his law ('this law,' *i.e.*, the law given).*

Let us proceed to the arguments against the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy.

1. 'It is remarkable,' says Professor Driver (page 83), 'that the early prophets, Amos and Hosea and the undisputed portions of Isaiah, show no certain traces of the influence of Deuteronomy; Jeremiah exhibits marks of it on nearly every page; Zephaniah and Ezekiel are also evidently influenced by it. If Deuteronomy were composed in the period between Isaiah and Jeremiah, these facts would be exactly accounted for.' We are led to infer, therefore, that there are no traces of Deuteronomy till after the time of Isaiah. But it is the theory that makes this so, not the facts. The facts are just the other way. As we might well suppose, if we are dealing with a living history, the times of Joshua are quite permeated with the influence of the last words of Moses. And in the book of Judges, though as the elders of Joshua's time died (Josh. xxiv. 31) the influence of Moses and of Joshua decreased in Israel, still very distinct traces of Deuteronomy are found. This is very apparent from Professor Driver's analysis of Joshua. Almost every chapter exhibits Deuteronomistic influence, and the case is the same in a less degree for the book of Judges. But the critics

* **בָּאֵר**, a peculiar word characteristic of Deuteronomy, to dig out, so as to reach the water of the well; to impress deep, as upon tables of stone, so as to last the longer.

have a very notable plan for getting rid of facts. Of course, say they, the books of Joshua and Judges were written many hundreds of years after the supposed events. The history is still legendary. And there was a Deuteronomic editor (D²) for Joshua, and a Deuteronomic compiler (not dignified by a symbol) of Judges, who of necessity lived after the times of Isaiah. A very pretty theory, but there is no proof for it. If we are dealing with a living history of a conquest of more consequence to the world than any other, and with an ancient Domesday Book, and an account of the failure of the pure theocracy, which must have been of interest and importance to the men of the monarchy, it is likely the history was written soon after the events. The Israelites must have been a specially foolish people if they let it remain for ages unrecorded. And if the history be near the times, then the predominant influence of the last words of Moses throughout the times of Joshua,* and in a lesser degree throughout the times of the Judges, is clear. The statement that 'Amos, Hosea, and the undisputed portions of Isaiah show no certain traces of the influence of Deuteronomy' must be met with a direct denial. There are clear traces of Deuteronomy in these prophets and also in Micah, which in any other literary history would be accepted at once as proofs of the pre-existence and esteem of Deuteronomy. The reader is referred to Professor Stanley Leathes' 'Law in the Prophets' for the proof, which he will there see under the names of these prophets.

The reason of the prominence of Deuteronomy in Jeremiah and to a less extent in Ezekiel is that the times were times which with good reason brought Deuteronomy to the mind of pious men.

2. Discrepancies of the legislation with the supposed J E and the supposed P.

* Consider only, for instance, Josh. viii. 31-35.

We have points given in which Deuteronomy, Professor Driver says, 'conflicts with' these legislations and another of his 'impressions.' Let us take the points first and the impression last.

(a) Even with J E Deuteronomy 'conflicts in a manner which would not be credible were the legislator in both one and the same.' Deut. xv. 17^b is said to conflict with Exod. xxi. 2 ff. In Deuteronomy apparently the female slave is to be retained in service after the same fashion of ceremony as the male. The female slave is not mentioned in Exodus. Here is an addition possibly with reference to their present or future conditions not clear to us. We do not discover the conflict nor signs of long interval of date. Deut. xv. 1-11 is said to conflict with Exod. xxiii. 10 ff. It is the law of the Sabbatical year. It is given very shortly in Exod. xxiii. 10, 11, which, of course, is allowed by everyone to be part of the oldest Pentateuchal legislation, containing elements older than Moses.* Exod. xxiii. 10, 11, says the seventh year the land is to rest, and 'the poor of thy people shall eat, and what they leave the beasts of the field shall eat.' In Lev. xxv. 1-7 the matter is slightly expanded. The land is to have a Sabbath of rest, and this is to be for the benefit chiefly of the poorer sort, and of the cattle and beasts of the field. Deut. xv. 1-11 using the noun שְׁמִטָּה, release, as Exod. xxiii. 11 uses the verb תִּשְׁמֹט, thou shalt release it, adds that on this year there shall be a Sabbath of debt, *i.e.*, the Israelite poor debtor shall go free, but not an alien. The benefit to be given to the poor is, as it were, defined into a detail. We fail to discover in these things 'variations difficult to reconcile

* Though it is very evident that centuries are not required (as Driver, page 80) for the expansion of this code in Leviticus, which is necessary to its being carried out at all as a system, and for which the leisure of the wilderness wandering would seem amply sufficient.

with both being the work of a single legislator, or 'that they point rather to the people having passed during the interval into changed social conditions,' which is indeed true, and more true with regard to the future, which Deuteronomy looks towards, but not in any sense contrary to the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy. Let the reader judge.

(b) But when we come to P, says Professor Driver, 'the supposition that these laws are by the same legislator becomes impossible. For in Deuteronomy language is used implying that *fundamental institutions of P are unknown to the author.*' We have reached ground where Moses is impossible, because P only being Mosaic in a bare nucleus ex hypothesi, and Deuteronomy not knowing P, therefore Deuteronomy could not have been the work of Moses. The reader will perceive the slippery ground which mere theory and circular argument is apt to produce. In any case, however, we have to meet the assertion that the author of Deuteronomy did not know the fundamental institutions of P. Let us not take this for granted. Let us rather consider Professor Driver's instances, in the full assurance that they are the best attainable. The instances given are (1) discrepancies as to the Hebrew slave law of P; (2) the priests and Levites not distinguished as in P; (3) the P law for the maintenance of priests and Levites not known in Deuteronomy; (4) a difference as to the eating of firstlings; (5) the tithe law of P also not known. There follows (6) a rather double-edged historical argument as to the central sanctuary presupposed or arranged for in Deuteronomy. Now we are well aware that we are in all these matters in the full stream of Wellhausen's theory, and we shall not scruple to draw from the master when occasion serves. But before starting upon an examination of these matters it is well to make two highly important observations, which are on the face of it historically due to the author of Deuteronomy. The first is that Deuteronomy is

addressed entirely to the *laity*. Its point of view is therefore different from a law book for priests and laity alike.

The next is, that if Moses really addressed the words of Deuteronomy to his people, it is also historically certain that he *presupposed* the legislation already given. A lawgiver addressing a people to whom he has given laws would assuredly do this. Arguments from mere silence in Deuteronomy, therefore, tend to beg the question at issue. Let the reader carefully bear in mind these two principles.

(1) The first point in which Deuteronomy is said 'to conflict with' P is the time for the setting free of Hebrew slaves. This appears to be a very extraordinary piece of criticism indeed. Lev. xxv. 39-43 says Hebrew slaves are to be set free in the year of Jubilee. 'In Deut. xv. 12-18,' says Professor Driver (page 77), 'the legislator, *without bringing his new law into relation** with the different one of Leviticus, prescribes the release of the Hebrew slave in the seventh year of his service.' One scarcely knows how to take this seriously. Leviticus, according to the facts and according to Professor Driver's own showing (page 53), is a purely ceremonial and religious code. It never mentions civil matters at all. And the allusion to the manumission of slaves and to usury also in connection with the Ceremonial Festival of the Jubilee is only as incidental to that feast. The reversion to his own inheritance, which is to be the common right of all Israelites, is not to be withheld from one who has fallen into slavery. He may serve up to the Jubilee, but however long or short has been his service, *then* he shall return to his family and to his inheritance. Here is not a different slave-law, nor, indeed, a slave-law at all; but the effect of the ceremonial proclamation of liberty (לְחֵרֶת) throughout the land, which is not to be withheld

* The italics are Professor Driver's.

from a Hebrew because he is fallen into slavery. And the Hebrew slave-law in Deut. xv. 12-18 is not a 'new law' at all. It is simply a reproduction of the oldest part of the legislation, where release on the seventh year is enjoined (Exod. xxi. 2). This stands in Professor Driver's own table.

(2) The next instance in which Deuteronomy is said 'to conflict with' P is that the distinction between priests and Levites, which is precise in P, is ignored in D (Deut. xviii. 1, 6-8). The suggestion is that this distinction never existed till somewhere near or after the exile. And provision is made for Levites, Professor Driver says, who have been living elsewhere to be able to assert their right of sacrificial service at the central sanctuary. Therefore, in the view of the author of Deuteronomy, so we are told, there was not yet existent any difference of service. This is Wellhausen all over; and if anybody wishes to see an invention of history against the facts which is probably unique, let him turn to the 'Prolegomena,' page 121, and read on. But the facts are simple. Dr. Driver says that in Deut. xviii. 'it is implied that *all* members of the tribe of Levi are qualified to exercise priestly functions.' Precisely so. For the distinction between a priest of Aaron's line and a Levite does not lie here. All priests are Levites and all Levites are priests (Deut. x. 8). The very *locus classicus* of Ezekiel, which is the basis of Wellhausen's curious 'investigations,' says so. One chamber of the Temple of Vision is 'for the *priests* that keep the charge of the house,' another chamber for 'the *priests* that keep the charge of the altar' (Ezek. xl. 45, 46). It is true that the priest *par excellence*, first of Aaron's line and afterwards of Zadok's branch of Aaron's line, was one that 'drew near to the altar' of Jehovah (Lev. ix. 8) to sacrifice. But they all had priestly functions as representatives of their people in the sanctuary. That is why, when spoken of as a body in the presence of the laity, they are called the priests, the Levites. They have a

common bond in the 'service' of the sanctuary and a share in the sacrificial offerings. Moses in Deuteronomy speaks of them in the presence of the laity, and therefore generally, as we use the term 'clergy' generally. He does not allude to the distinction between them, because he is not concerned in his present discourse with that distinction. It is sufficiently laid down both in practice and in law elsewhere. But if anyone will carefully read Deut. xviii., comparing verses 3 and 5, he will see that the distinction, though not asserted, is implied.

Ezek. xlv. 6-16 will not bear the meaning assigned to it by Wellhausen. In the first place, it is a prophetic vision with a prophetic purpose. In the second place, the renewed Temple is to be a Holy of Holies in every part of it (Ezek. xliii. 12); but to make it more so, the distinction of the inferior service of the Levites not of the seed of Aaron (which seed of Aaron had probably remained loyal in the line of Zadok) is to be retained, as probably from the days of Micah, the grandson of Moses, they had had a chief part in prostituting their office in the service of idols. The old distinction, which, indeed, in ancient times provoked a rebellion led by Korah, is to be retained with an added emphasis and meaning. It is perfectly easy for Wellhausen to get rid of the facts that invalidate his theory by saying that the history of Eli is a tale of the exile, and that the chronicler gives a lying genealogy of Zadok; but who does not see that this is not historical criticism? It is easy to invent history, and Wellhausen has special gifts in that line.

(3) Next, with regard to the maintenance of the priests, the Levites, 'Deut. xviii. 3,' says Professor Driver, 'is in conflict with Lev. vii. 32-34.' Now Lev. vii. 32-34, coupled with the immediately foregoing context, appears to give as the priest's portion what is elsewhere technically expressed in the Authorised Version as 'the wave-breast and the heave-shoulder' because of their ceremonial oblation to Jehovah before the priest takes them. The

shoulder is to be the right shoulder; and the Hebrew expression for 'shoulder' is only used in this sense as a purely technical sacrificial term in Hebrew literature; also the Hebrew expression for 'breast,' which means more than the English word breast, has no other use at all in Hebrew literature than as a purely technical sacrificial term. It is interesting to notice in passing that this Pentateuchal priest's portion was given to Samuel (1 Sam. ix. 23, 24). Moses in Deut. xviii. is explaining to the laity the reason why a portion should be given to the priests at all, and enforcing the necessity of this offering from a kindly lay point of view. In speaking of the priest's portion, he does but translate these two purely technical sacrificial terms into ordinary lay language. *Voilà tout.*

Again, 'Deut. xviii. 6,' says Professor Driver, 'is inconsistent with the institution of Levitical cities prescribed in Num. xxxv. It implies that the Levite has no settled residence, but is a "sojourner" in one or other of the cities of Israel.' Further, throughout Deuteronomy 'the Levites are frequently alluded to as scattered about the land, and are earnestly commended to the Israelites' charity.' Consequently, Levitical cities are one of 'the fundamental institutions of P,' which the author of Deuteronomy had never heard of, and with which Moses had nothing to do. But in the first place we may ask, Does Dr. Driver consider that the Levites were to eat their cities? All these references are kindly commendations of the Levites to the lay people that they should keep the ordinance of Jehovah for the Levites' maintenance in return for their special religious services in the office which Jehovah appointed for them. There is no 'charity'* in this, but a kindly commendation to the laity of the principle and reasonableness of Jehovah's com-

* 'Charity,' both the name and thing, is unknown both to the Old Testament and also to the New Testament.

mandment. If Jehovah, for a special public religious purpose, has not given the same local right of tribal inheritance to Levi as to the other tribes, the other tribes are to make it up to them by a cheerful rendering of the tithes and offerings, which *are* appointed for them by the law. Instead of the possession of rights by conquest and inheritance, they, because of their office, are to be dependent on the gifts of their brethren, which gifts are divinely appointed. But besides this, Num. xxxv. arranges that a gift of cities and their suburbs should be given to them, where they may live, still without private rights of inheritance, as colleges or corporate bodies, throughout the land, that their services may be everywhere available. It is not propounded that they were to be rigidly secluded within the walls of these cities, else what would be the meaning of the institution at all? Rather were these cities to be centres of civilising and religious influence throughout the land, and six of them were to be a refuge to the manslayer. The Levite would be within the gates of his brethren as a sojourner and stranger even in his own cities, but certainly not only in his own cities. The ideal of Moses was the ideal of a great religious and teaching corporation throughout the land to instruct, remind, and elevate the people. Let the reader carefully read Deut. xxxiii. 8-11, and ponder it in this connection. That the ideal came short of its intention to a great extent is due to human frailty. But it is strongly possible that this institution raised the tone and education of the people far beyond what is generally supposed.

Moses in Deuteronomy speaks of the Levites generally, commending the reasons of their support to the laity. He does not allude to their cities, because it has been done before, and it was a charge of Joshua's to carry out, which, indeed, was his last work.

(4) But 'Deut. xii. 6, 17 ff., and xv. 19 ff. conflict with Num. xviii. 18.' In Numbers the firstlings are given to the *priests*; in Deuteronomy, says Professor Driver, the *laity*

is to eat them at the central sanctuary. But, first, it is plain that the observations of Deut. xii. 6, 17 ff. are general. All offerings and sacrifices are to be brought to the central place that is to be, and eaten there, including the priest's portion and the firstlings. Further, the main point of the passage in Num. xviii. is the non-redemption of the firstlings of oxen, lambs, and goats, which are the specially sacrificial beasts. Instead of redeeming them, their fat is to be offered as a burnt sacrifice, apparently because they *are* firstlings. And 'their flesh, in the same way as at an ordinary sacrifice, the wave-breast and the right shoulder, is to be given to the priest.' As the redemption-price to be paid to the priest is not intended to be the value of the beast redeemed, but is rather of the nature of a fixed religious tax, so it should seem 'their flesh' does not mean all their flesh exclusively, but, as in ordinary sacrifices, the priest's portion. This interpretation is upheld by Deut. xv. 19 ff., which renews this regulation from a general lay point of view. The firstlings of the sacrificial beasts are to be brought year by year at the festivals to the central sanctuary, and the laity are to eat their portion there, as well as the priests.

(5) The law of tithes 'in Deuteronomy is in conflict with that of P,' says Professor Driver. 'In Deuteronomy there is no injunction as to tithes of animal produce.' In Num. xviii. 21 ff. all tithe in Israel is given to the Levites as a body, and they are to give a tithe of their tithe to Aaron. This is the general law of tithe applicable to all species. The reference given by Dr. Driver, Lev. xxvii. 30-32, speaks of all vegetable tithe—tithe of seed of the ground, and the fruit of the tree, which may be commuted with addition of a fifth. Deuteronomy is fully aware of the tithes and offerings which are to sustain the Levitical body (chap. xii. 6, 11). But in a repetition of the same important injunction of a central sanctuary Moses says :* 'Thou shalt not suffice to eat in thy gates

* Deut. xii. 17.

the tithe of thy corn and thy wine and thy oil and the firstlings of thy oxen and of thy flock, thy vows and thy freewill offerings, or heave-offering of thy hand.' They are to be brought to the central sanctuary, and not offered to and by priests and Levites, and eaten in their own city. They might perhaps think that to bring their *sacrifices* to the central sanctuary was all that was needed. Moses says not. The eating is not the principal point. It is spoken of generally. The legal apportionment between priest and layman is presupposed as sufficiently known and practised. It is possible, too, that the layman joined in a sacrificial meal with the priest (see injunctions in Lev. vii. 15, 16; compare 1 Sam. ix. 23, 24); or, being coupled with the firstlings, which are to be eaten at the festivals year by year (Deut. xv. 20), there may be a commendation of a second festival tithe, which may have grown up in practice, which festival tithe on the third year is to be devoted to generous and charitable purposes at home (Deut. xxvi. 12). If the reader will steadily bear in mind that these matters are spoken of generally to the people in view of altered circumstances soon to come upon them, he will see no conflict with former legislation here. What is said would probably sound differently to contemporaries. It would be interpreted to them either by the current practice or by the precept of the Levites. The main object is to promote duty to the Levite, general generosity, and regard for the central sanctuary that is to be.

Let the reader bear in mind 'the familiar consideration that he who speaks to a large and mixed audience will take care, if he knows his business, to shun irrelevant details and distinctions' ('Speaker's Commentary,' page 798). Moses would presuppose the legislation, which had been given, in enlarging upon its spirit; and a reference—even an enlarged and more generous reference—to vegetable produce would not be unnatural with the desert in the past, where was no fertility, and the promised land in view, where was abounding fertility. If there is

anything in this argument as to the tithe, it would seem to point to the legislation of the supposed P being earlier than that of Deuteronomy, as the former school of 'critics' stoutly asserted it to be.

(6) That Moses looked forward to a central sanctuary in the future of the promised land is certain. The tabernacle was its transitory type. When Israel ceased to live in tents, the tent of the habitation of Jehovah would cease to have *raison d'être*. Even the materials of which it was made would not last for ever, or, indeed, for very many years. And in Samuel's time there is indication of its outward shape having in the necessary process of renewing received additions in the direction of making it more permanent and stable (1 Sam. iii. 15). The aim of Moses in this centralising system was the aim of a law-giver. He wished to exclude the possibility of local worship of Jehovah degenerating into a kind of spurious polytheism, after the fashion of the evolution of which Egypt was to him and to us a conspicuous example (compare Lenormant, 'Ancient History,' I., pages 318, 323; Maspero, 'Histoire de l'Orient,' page 26 ff.: 'Dans les plus anciens textes religieux qui nous aient été conservés, la plupart des dieux ne sont plus que des doublures politiques ou géographiques les uns des autres'). There was nothing spiritually wrong in a local altar.

As we have seen, the old patriarchal law and custom remains in the legislation. The true and wise policy of Moses was to centralise it. Times of degeneracy and confusion—as it were, the middle ages of the history of Israel—succeed. In these times, or at any other special time, wise and good men did not scruple to build a local altar or to use one. How, for instance, could Elijah do otherwise? But the centralising system of Moses at once reasserts itself, wherever it is possible. Hence the historical reason of the renaissance under Samuel and the monarchy. We are perfectly well aware that Professor Driver and the school of Kuenen and Wellhausen press

the times of confusion and degeneracy as being the original type of the legislation of Moses. As well might we press the gross superstitions of the Middle Ages as being the original types of the Christian revelation. Perhaps someone will do this some day. We are also perfectly aware that the school of Wellhausen get rid of the tabernacle by asserting it to be a fiction of pure priestly imagination, and do this against the evidence; and that they deliberately cut away from the historical books everything that is against this theory. But we are further well aware of another thing—that this is not historical criticism. Let these gentlemen transfer their method to some other history, and see what the legitimate historian has to say to it. So much for D's ignorance of 'fundamental institutions of P.'

3. Differences of style and language.

There is a great deal of reason for supposing that, however much the author of the Chronicles may be inclined to epitomise and give the substance*—after the fashion of indirect reports of speeches in the House of Commons—the earlier and fresher custom of the first ages was on important occasions to give the actual words as nearly as possible verbatim. This appears from the eminently characteristic style and sometimes even dialect of the speeches recorded. To instance the speeches of Abraham, Sarah, Rebekah, Jacob, Joseph, Balaam will be enough. In each case they are strongly in keeping with the individual character of the speaker, and not infrequently have characteristic expressions. The speech of Jethro (Exod. xviii. 14-23) is a good instance.† Now we have seen good reason for supposing that the rest of the Pentateuch was under the superintendence of Moses, but that here in Deuteronomy we have his own words

* The reader is requested to observe that it is not asserted that this *is* so, but granting that it *may* be so.

† Consider the peculiar use of the words *זָהָר מוֹל*, and *הוֹה*.

and compositions; *i.e.*, his final addresses to the people, his 'Song' and his blessing. Precisely in accordance with this supposition are the general phenomena which Professor Driver says he observes in Deuteronomy. He observes 'that the strong and impressive individuality of the writer colours whatever he writes' (page 95). Here is a man of great power disclosed. At the same time, now and again, are traces of the hand that appears in the other parts of the Pentateuch, and especially in Exodus (page 91). So far so good. But there are new words and expressions. If we have here the original hand of Moses more than in the rest of the Pentateuch, and he is engaged, not in repeating, but bringing out the spirit of the Divine constitution he has given to the people, of course there would be. For ideas require words, and a different aspect of ideas will require different words. Common-sense and the laborious history of New Testament scholarship have finally settled that it is allowed to the same writer to use different words when he wishes to express different ideas.

Attention is directed in passing to a point raised against the Mosaic authorship, in that in the preceding books and in the commandment there is only a passing allusion to the love of God as a motive (in the second commandment), whereas it is the pivot on which Deuteronomy turns (page 73). Now this surely is not a very deep criticism. It is true that the school of Wellhausen leaves no facts in the Pentateuch capable of teaching the love of God in any way specially. But it is evident that we are not bound by the school of Wellhausen. The history of Israel during Moses' lifetime is a school of facts intended to teach the love of God. There is the *thing* brought about by that experience which worketh hope. It is of more importance than the word. Because Jehovah has first loved, a return of love is become possible, and not only possible, but dutiful. And the object of Moses in

his old age, as in the old age of St. John, is to impress this great idea upon his people.

For the rest, a careful consideration of Professor Driver's useful phraseological table will bring out that with a few insignificant, possibly idiosyncratic, exceptions (of which פֶּדָה, of Israel's redemption, appears to have its new reference from its customary use in the ceremonial law), the new words are those which either convey the spirit of the law, or which look forward to the changed conditions of life which lie in the immediate prospect. The 'Song' and blessing are in the earliest style of poetry, and contain many characteristic expressions and ἀπαξ λεγόμενα. The great comparison of Jehovah, the Rock of Israel, and of His care for His people, like to that of an eagle for its young, are surely natural to the experiences of a long residence in the Sinaitic peninsula, and would not be natural to a later writer. The poetic idealising of Israel as Jeshurun (appellatio blanda et charitativa) is natural to Moses in his old age, but it would not be natural to later times. Moses in his earlier days showed his power as a poet, a power now matured and mellowed by vigorous age.

4. General considerations of standpoint and likelihood.

A great part of the general arguments alleged by Professor Driver have been considered by anticipation. Those that remain may some of them be briefly glanced at. It would be tedious to pursue Professor Driver into the discrepancies alleged on page 79. The reader may perhaps accept the assurance that on any reasonable and fair usage of an ancient record they are no discrepancies at all. Then Professor Driver says Moses could not use 'at that time' or 'unto this day,' referring to six months ago, when he spoke, six months of rather exciting incidents. The best answer is that he does use these expressions, and the interval is sometimes more than six months. Next comes our old friend 'beyond Jordan,' as proving that the speaker in Deuteronomy must have lived

in the land of Canaan. Now it is somewhat curious that so thoroughly able a man as the supposed D, having placed Moses in the land of Moab, and being so complete a master of the art of fiction as he must have been, should not have been able to carry his impersonation out in so small a detail. But as a matter of fact the expression, **מעבר, בעבר**, in the crossing of, from the crossing of, is quite ambiguous. It is used for both sides of the Jordan. It needs to be defined by addition, 'eastwards.' And it has been not unreasonably conjectured that just as 'the sea' means the west, so 'beyond Jordan' (**בעבר**) was a geographical term amongst the Canaanites for the country afterwards known as *Peræa*, 'the region beyond,' and that alongside the conventional use, the ordinary meaning was retained.* In any case, the fact that the same expression is used in one verse (Numb. xxxii. 19) of both sides of Jordan will show its ambiguity. It does not necessarily imply a speaker in Palestine ('Speaker's Commentary,' *in loc.*). But Deuteronomy speaks of Dathan and Abiram as warning examples, but does not mention Korah. This is an undesigned coincidence of the reality of the record. Speaking to the laity, Moses omits reference to the sins of the clergy. It is rather his purpose to ingratiate the clergy with his people on the eve of a conquest which might tend, because they had no part in it, to drive them to the wall. The 'development of oratory and prophecy' is not likely as a product of the Mosaic age. The judgment of Wellhausen's school must necessarily be biased on this point. They have made a clean sweep of the first ages, jumbled all developments on the way to the Captivity, and left the history unintelligible. This is simply a matter of baseless opinion. A man might say that the development of arts and sciences in Egypt in old

* We are gratified to observe that Dr. Driver allows this to be 'possible.' See *Expositor* for May, 1892, page 339.

time was unlikely, and that it was unlikely they should be in possession of secrets that are hidden from us in metallurgy and pyramid building. The generally received opinion that the forgotten old world were fools is not justified by the facts.

The same observation, from a different point of view, applies to the remark that the theological reflection of Deuteronomy is not likely in the Mosaic age. This judgment is necessarily biased, because the critical school have left no subjects for reflection in the Mosaic age; given the subjects, the theological reflection is natural and necessary.

There must have been a considerable time between Exod. xxi.-xxiii. and Deuteronomy. So there was, many years; but on the almost certain supposition that the passage in Exodus is in great part pre-Mosaic, there would have been much more time.

Because Isaiah speaks of a significant pillar or obelisk as connected with the prophetic conversion of Egypt, where significant obelisks were common and not connected with idolatry, therefore he was ignorant of the injunction in Deuteronomy against idolatrous pillars or stones, which were common objects of worship, sometimes enshrined in the temples, in Phœnician and Canaanite forms of idolatry. Let the reader judge.

The arguments against the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy appear for the most part to be undesigned coincidences of the hand of Moses in Deuteronomy.

We come in the last place to Dr. Driver's 'impression.' Dr. Driver does not seem very happy in his impressions. He has an impression (page 131) 'that the liturgical institutions under which the author of Deuteronomy lived were of a simpler character than those prescribed in P.' Now, as Deuteronomy is addressed to the laity, and as there is no allusion to liturgical institution or ceremonial

in it at all, and as anything resembling P is carefully excised from it in the tabular analysis of Deuteronomy (page 67), it certainly does not appear where Professor Driver derives his 'impression' from.

In the same way Dr. Driver says, and makes a great point of saying, that Deuteronomy is dependent for its history on J E, *i.e.*, that the historical allusions of Deuteronomy are to be found in J E. But as to J E is given the historical part of the preceding portions of the Pentateuch in the main, it does not appear how it could be otherwise.

NOTE C. *Spencer de Legibus Hebræorum.*

The treatises of Spencer de Legibus Hebræorum, and Michaelis on the 'Laws of Moses,' and Warburton's 'Divine Legation of Moses,' though in some respects perhaps one-sided and not up to the knowledge of the present time, yet have, it may be thought, this merit, that they handle the subject with a broad and instructive grasp of its dignity and interest. They tend to emphasise the conclusion, which in the present day seems to be considered quite out of date, that the laws and constitution of Moses are not a subject of merely archæological or dry-as-dust research, but a storehouse from which the men of the present day and the politicians of the present day may learn principles and methods of surpassing importance and most immediate bearing. Here is food for thought. The spirit and aim and polity conceived in the Pentateuch are a true statesman's manual. He shall learn from them more and better than elsewhere. Here are the fundamental truths which make for the true welfare of nations. Here is, not as the Puritan fathers would have made it, an inelastic pattern of all legislation, but the essential and pervading spirit which should infuse laws made with the one view of the health and happiness of a people. There is a standard raised of a brighter and a purer age.

Moses is the father of modern sanitation and popular education, of fairness and equity as between the rich and the poor, of the spirit of true national godliness. The general study of Moses would have saved us from going blindly on towards rocks which threaten shipwreck of the true principles of national happiness.

But it is not entirely from the point of view that Dean Spencer thought the explication of the motive and method of the laws of the Hebrews worthy of the greatest care and meditation that we wish to say a few words of his work in this note. It is to illustrate the position taken up in the foregoing chapter, which we trust to be the true one, that inspiration by no means destroys the use of natural faculties, or does away with the necessities which are imposed by the conditions of any given time or environment. The ideas are Divine, but the clothing of them is left to human powers exercised upon the material, which the historical times and the historical localities supply.

In striving to arrive at a clear idea of this truth, it is thought that we shall find Dean Spencer an imperfect guide. Sabæanism, which it is instructive to find had for the first time come into prominence in his day from the labours of an eminent contemporary Orientalist, Thomas Hyde,* occupies a place of disproportionate importance in his mind consequently, from which the advance of knowledge has tended for our minds to dislodge it. There is little touch with Sabæan influence to be found in the work of Moses. Also Spencer's knowledge of Egypt was necessarily limited to the reports of Greek writers. The direct interpretation of ancient Egypt, which makes it speak for itself, is a thing of modern times.

It is refreshing, perhaps in one aspect a little amusing,

* It is probable that Hyde's '*Veterum Persarum et Magorum religionis historia*' was issued before the '*De Legibus Hebræorum*,' which was first printed in 1685.

to find his learned editor Pfaffius, Chancellor of Tübingen, falling foul of him for 'levity of argument' in assimilating Moses to heathenism, and especially in illustrations drawn from the rites of the Sabæans. He blames him for 'the itch for novelty and the itch for conjecture, under the strong influence of which he is content, though a man of ability, to try to sell to the public the mists and smoke of conjectures for the light of proof and certainty.' 'These things,' he says, 'are a stumbling-block to the theologians, who are touched with reverence for the Divine name and the Holy Law.' *O si sic omnia*, that had come in later years out of Tübingen and from other places elsewhere, we might even say. But Chancellor Pfaffius grants with justice that Spencer brought by his erudition no small light to the explication of the Hebrew laws.

Now it would appear that there have been two schools of thought with regard to the laws of Moses and their relation to the ancient world. The one school treats everything found in them without reference to their historical connection. To this school all of Moses is strictly original. Where resemblances of any kind are traced in other nations of the ancient world, they were all borrowed from Moses. This should seem to be an idea to some extent fathered by Josephus.* To some extent, again, it may be a conception held vaguely and loosely by many to-day, as seeming only just to any high idea of inspiration. But it is an idea which receives a shock from contact with ancient history. It is quickly found to be untenable. The type shown to Moses in the Mount does not come unconditioned from heaven. It is conditioned by the mind, the education, and the surroundings of Moses himself. He has to use Egyptian arts to embody it; he has to accommodate it to the existing state of his people's progress. And then the pendulum of

* See Josephus against Apion (Whiston's translation), page 822.

opinion sways to the other extreme. The man who is shaken in an unfounded opinion, finding so much of earth, begins to hold feebly that there is any of heaven. He forgets that there is a higher note of inspiration still that touches all to purify all. He forgets the deep truth that lies in the poet's words :

‘ Though truths in manhood darkly join,
 Deep seated in our mystic frame,
 We yield all blessing to the name
 Of Him that made them current coin.’

But the intellectual Pharisaism that would desire to find more true inspiration in a segregated rather than a selected people, in original unearthly institutions rather than humanly conditioned ones, derives no support from the Pentateuch. There is no such thing, strange as the statement may at first sight appear, as separativeness in the Pentateuch. It is the republication, with the added light of further revelation, of truths that once were common property. It is the noble doctrine of Moses himself, who rises infinitely higher in genius and greatness than perhaps some of us perceive, that God has never wholly broken with the other nations. God's continuous presidency over the whole world and *all* that are therein is the prevailing theme of all His holy prophets since the world began. ‘ When the Most High gave an inheritance to the nations and separated the sons of Adam, He established the boundaries of the peoples with reference to the number of the sons of Israel, for the portion of Jehovah is His people, Jacob is the line of His inheritance ’ (Deut. xxxii. 9). The segregation, which is legally prescribed in the Pentateuch, is not Pharisaical. It is from the point of view of a lawgiver to avoid dangers which the historical experience of ancient times (Gen. vi. 1-6), and of times nearer to the lawgiver in the history of Israel in Egypt,* has shown to be real, and to threaten

* Bertheau (Geikie's ‘ Hours with the Bible,’ II., page 114) is reported to go so far as to think that Moses in his

to overwhelm the knowledge of the living God. The 'stranger' is to be kindly regarded, according to the law of Moses.

The other school of thought on this subject, of which Dean Spencer is a typical example, see so much of Egyptian and other influences in the Mosaic legislation that they become blinded in some degree to its unsullied brightness and originality. It seems to them a thing impossible for Jehovah to cleanse by using the 'common' and earthly elements, which He takes up to make the types and symbols of His presence amongst His chosen people. In this way of thinking Moses did but let them down easily. He desired to wean them from idolatry by adopting its forms, that they might gradually achieve the higher standpoint.

The two supposed main aims of Moses are thus given by Dean Spencer. He rightly and most justly thinks that a reason is to be carefully sought as the motive of the Hebrew laws; but to him it is no clothing of the eternal idea, but only a 'transitory and temporary' reason. He gives as his object in writing, '*Leges Mosaicæ non sine ratione, quanquam mutabili et temporaria, datas evincere.*' Moses for him is a temporiser, who seeks to abolish idolatry by a certain 'condescension' to the Israelites' weakness. '*Per συγκαταβασιν* illam Israelitæ a gentium idolis et ceremoniis *sensim et suaviter* avocare studuit, quos statim et cum violentia quadam avellere non potuit.' He only allows us a secondary and less important motive, to raise the standard of immutable truth. '*Secundaria ratio ut legis istius ritus et instituta rerum altiorum σκιαγραφίαν* quandam exhiberent.'

The truth seems to lie, as always, so here, in the midst

solitary sojourn in Midian would have come in contact with a form of the faith of Abraham, preserved in Jethro's tribes, purer than survived among the Jews in Egypt. There is probably some exaggeration in this.

between these two extremes. The idea, and motive, and teaching of Moses are essentially original and truly inspired and inspiring, no otherwise influenced from Egypt than as there was truth to be learned from Egypt. There was no condescension to his people's weakness in Dean Spencer's sense, for the noble acts of the Lord were the power of a new departure. On the other hand, the art and fashion employed by Israelitish artists to embody the ideal was probably modified Egyptian. It was probably, perhaps in a less degree, influenced by Egypt in the same way as the art and fashion of the Phœnician trading nation was influenced and modelled by the ancient nations with whom they came in constant contact.

Josephus truly says, whether he meant it or not, 'When Moses was desirous to teach to his countrymen that God is the Father and Lord of all things, and sees all things, and that thence he bestows a happy life upon those that follow Him, he did not begin the establishment of his laws after the same manner that other legislators did—I mean upon contracts and other rites between one man and another—but by raising their minds upwards to regard God and His creation of the world, and by persuading them that we men are the most excellent of the creatures of God upon earth.*' And herein lies the supreme originality of the revelation, of which Moses was the great instrument to conserve and convey. In this might 'all the families of the earth be blessed.'

Warburton's 'Divine Legation of Moses,' though again probably one-sided and not thorough enough in its grasp of all the bearings of the Legation of Moses, tends in its main argument, it is conceived, to bring into relief an eternal verity much in need to be attended to in the present age. That the righteous, yet merciful, presence of the living God in the affairs of men is the matter of

* Josephus (Whiston's translation), page 28.

greatest interest to present life, even without reference to the future, as it is the pre-eminent teaching of the Pentateuch, so is it a doctrine of supreme importance to recall to the minds of the men of our own time.

NOTE D. *The phraseology of H.*

It will be a suggestion sufficiently obvious to make that the same writer or author is likely to use a different manner and different words in drawing up a code of laws, from the manner and language he would employ in writing an animated and picturesque account of interesting circumstances in which he himself was engaged, or in making a public address to a large and mixed audience. The occasions are observed to be different. And there have been men in historical periods of sufficient versatility and genius to excel in all three styles. It is conceived that this elementary consideration should be borne in mind in approaching the style and wording of the Hebrew legislation. It is likely that there should be found differences from the style and wording of history and public address. And those differences will not necessarily infer a difference of author. For a higher sameness of spirit is seen to pervade these differences and to inspire the whole legislation with its meaning. But, at the same time, it is just possible, and even probable, that certain idiosyncrasies of manner and words point to that use by Moses of collaborators in the legislation, which has seemed to us to be probable on other and historical grounds. We have seen that Mosaic superintendence only is claimed for parts of the Pentateuch, his own individuality being specially stamped upon Deuteronomy. It will be impossible to follow out this suggestion into detail. Any careful observer of the list of H's peculiarities given by Professor Driver, will notice that many of them are not unknown to the rest of the Pentateuch, and therefore are uncertain criteria. More stress apparently is to be given

to the occurrence of such words as עִמִּית, neighbour ; מוֹךְ, to wax poor ; קֵרִי, contrary or against ; שֹׂאֵר, relation, which are singular in themselves, and have more or less familiar and equivalent expressions in the other parts of the Pentateuch ; to such a word as אֲלֵלִים, things of nought, not elsewhere in the Pentateuch ; and such an expression as אִישׁ אִישׁ, for whoever, which may be possibly to some extent idiosyncratic to a certain writer. But the criteria appear by no means certain.

Τὸ γὰρ ἀκριβὲς οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐν ᾗπασι τοῖς λόγοις ἐπιζητητέον.
‘The method of exact inquiry is conditioned by its subject.’
ARISTOTLE.

CHAPTER III.

AN ATTEMPT TO MEET SOME DIFFICULTIES BY CERTAIN HISTORICAL APHORISMS.

1. That difficulties in an account of past events do not necessarily involve that that account is either late or untrustworthy—2. That in any account of the past the national style of writing must be taken into consideration, when critically estimating its meaning and bearing—3. That in studying the Hebrew records regard must be had to the extreme and distinctive importance attributed by the Hebrew mind to the significance of names—4. That the historical analogy of the English Bible offers an undeniable criterion of the kind of archaism to be expected in an ancient national document which has set the style of a nation's language. The Pentateuch—how far in an analogous position—5. That historical analogy, again, is the true and the only safe test of the extent to which the silence of authors, or the inconsistency of customs and events, is evidence against the pre-existence of any history or legislation. The subject illustrated.

NOTES.—A. Ezekiel and P—B. The Samaritan Pentateuch—C. Professor F. A. Wolf and Homer.

THERE remains another branch of the inquiry as to who wrote the Pentateuch after all,

which, because it introduces us to the facts from another point of view, and because it can be made to bring out many things of interest and importance, may not be passed altogether without notice. And this branch may perhaps be called the critique of criticism itself. We want to know the method to be employed in the investigation of ancient documents, as to what is fair and what is unfair, what is true and what false; what is likely to lead to real and genuine results, and what to fictitious and imaginary results.

For not the brilliancy or ingenuity of the inquirer, but the state of the facts, must be the ultimate standard of the appeal as before truth itself. Criticism has its limitations. Its object is the clear and discriminative rendering of facts. The ancient writer that is criticised is seen to labour under disabilities. He cannot rise to refute or explain. We therefore owe him the tribute of justice.

The observations which follow are offered because they seem to have a very principal and cardinal importance from this point of view.

1. Difficulties and discrepancies, and not infrequently exaggerated difficulties and exaggerated discrepancies, are sometimes set forth by 'critics,' as though, on the one hand,

they discredited the trustworthiness of the history, and, on the other, made the text in which they occur of later age than, on the face of it, it professes to be. Like some ancient characters, the 'critics' lie waiting secretly for difficulties and discrepancies, and they ravish them when they get them into their net. In fact, the discovery of difficulties and discrepancies seems to be the stock-in-trade of some people's art of criticism. The broad, plain principles which are on the surface seem insufficient for the subtlety of their investigation. This is a very useful quality. We may hold with some degree of confidence what is allowed to go unchallenged. But it may be pressed too far. The value of each difficulty and discrepancy for the purpose of discrediting history and post-dating documents is surely entirely dependent upon its character.

Some difficulties arise from the trustworthy nature of history. Some discrepancies are wholly due to the age of documents.

(a) The nearer any history is to the events it records, especially if those events are of special interest or great importance, the greater is the likelihood of difficulty and apparent contradiction in the account. And this contradiction may only sometimes be adequately soluble by a completer knowledge of the contemporary

facts than is any longer possible for us to attain to. The recorder, sure of the truth of his record, with his attention turned to some aspect of a scene or story, which colours his mind and is the motive of his writing, naturally at times leaves out what he supposes the reader will as naturally supply; but to supply this in after-ages may become an impossibility. All that remains is an apparent contradiction, or difficulty, which a child present at the time could easily have explained, and which to-day the midnight oil of the learned may leave unsolved. The reader may take as examples of this: the **משכן** of Korah, treated of in a preceding note (page 96); the relationship of Reuel, Jethro, and Hobab to Moses and each other (it does not in the least follow that Reuel and Jethro were the same persons, which they plainly were not; the word **חתן**, translated father-in-law, merely means *any* relation by marriage); and the discrepancy between Num. xiii. 1-3 and Deut. i. 22.

Such difficulties as these, and many others of a like kind, which can only now be the subject of reasonable conjecture, proceed from the truthfulness of the record and its nearness to the events. It is inconceivable that any later fictitious writer should have complicated

his task by going out of his way to introduce them.

(b) On the other hand, a law may have in view conditions which it would be even absurd to define at length to the contemporary, but when through lapse of time the custom to which it alludes, or which it seeks to regulate or modify, is fallen into desuetude, the terms of the reference may become obscure or even apparently conflicting. It is so that antiquity must be approached with patience and caution, and that difficulties, anomalies, apparent contradictions may be simply part of the evidence that makes for the trustworthiness and nearness of a history to the events it records, or that makes for the ancient character of a piece of legislation. As Wellhausen truly says: 'It is not to be wondered at that much should seem unclear to us which must have been obvious to contemporaries ('Prolegomena,' page 91).

On the contrary, they who should set about to invent history, or to ascribe new laws to an old source, would carefully avoid small discrepancies, and steer clear of solecisms, as in their view likely to bewray them. Instances, dealt with in a preceding note, of difficulties in laws, which would doubtless never exist in the minds of contemporaries, may be given in the

mention of the female slave in the slave law, and in the allusions to the tithe law, both in Deuteronomy.

2. Again, no true results can possibly arise from an inquiry which does not give careful attention to national literary idiosyncrasies, as well as to the personal peculiarities of any given writer. To ignore these things is a sure way of arriving at a false conclusion.

The Hebrew writer, as every other prose writer, tends to assimilate an elevated prose style to the manner of poetry. This may be observed in every literature and in the English literature. But the early Hebrew historian has this characteristic more strongly fostered by the high and often engrossing nature of his subject, and also by the very atmosphere of a primitive culture. Freshness and boldness, not dryness and method, are in the influences of the earliest ages. Now the manner of Hebrew poetry is a stately, nervous, interesting parallelism by which the subject is made impressive and advances. The parallelism is either (1) synonymous, *i.e.*, the repetition of the same thing with only a slight touch of difference; (2) synthetic or constructive, *i.e.*, the repetition more or less of the same thing coupled with some advance or addition of idea; or (3) antithetic or contrasted, *i.e.*, where the same thing is repeated

in effect by the contrast of its absence, or the illustrative contrast of something essentially different. And this parallelism may rise to a climax, and may be associated with certain set phrases or refrains which often recur upon a certain system of symmetrical construction. We see that the early Hebrew historian would have, therefore, a natural tendency, as it were, to repetition, which is either only slightly differentiated to be impressive, or which advances by the addition of a further fact or idea, or which involves the same thing by some difference or contrast. And, in fact, impressive repetitions, accompanied with slight change in idea, and recurring refrains, are the pervading idiosyncrasy of Hebrew literature, especially in the earliest ages.

It is not too much to say that any careful attention to this somewhat elementary consideration would tend in a great number of instances to cut the ground entirely from under the theoretical and divisive 'critic.' For the purely theoretical detection of another hand, or of another source, is easy everywhere to those who systematically ignore what is plainly a characteristic of the Hebrew style of writing, *i.e.*, this tendency to impressive but slightly differentiated repetition.

Far from being a demerit, it is the beauty of

the Hebrew writings, however alien it may be from the more prosaic and precise manner of other nations and later times.

3. Akin to the foregoing is another peculiarity of the Hebrew mind, which is quite beyond dispute, but to neglect which in practice is what we judge to be the origin of some wholly baseless speculations. The meaning of names occupies a position in the early Hebrew estimation which it requires an effort for the modern mind to appreciate. A whole history and world of feeling, for instance, is wrapped up in the significance of the names of Eve's sons, Cain and Abel, and of Moses' sons, Gershom and Eliezer, and in the name of Isaac. There is contained in these names an unwritten history of the deepest interest. It is the same with the two generally current names of God.

The Hebrew names for God in current use in the nation have a strong, undoubted, and important difference of meaning and aspect. Elohim, אֱלֹהִים, the plural of אֱלֹה, cognate to אֵל, also used of God, having its radical meaning probably from the idea of twisting together—strength—is an intensive plural of majesty signifying the sum of infinite forces. It is the generic name of God, as He is the source of all power. Jehovah, more properly Jahveh, is a

personal name of exactly the same order as Isaac or Jacob. It is the third person singular of the imperfect of the verb 'to be.' It signifies 'he who is,' and is the personal name of God as He vouchsafes and condescends to personal relations with those to whom He has given a like life of personal existence. It is represented in the English version by Lord in capital letters.* In more than one typical instance the preference for the use of one sacred name over the other may be proved to result from their significance in the same writer.

An interesting instance of this may be given in the Psalm of the glory of nature and the blessed power of the Law (Ps. xix.). The glory is the glory of El, the grace and revelation is of Jehovah. The same writer wrote it, most probably, as the ascription declares, David.

But the reader's careful attention is invited

* This arises, of course, from the superstitious and unreal reverence of which this name, probably after the captivity, became the object. It was never pronounced, and the Hebrew word for Lord or Master was read in its place. Those who introduced the system of pointing supplied the vowel points of this word for Lord, where Jehovah or Jahveh occurred in the text. The LXX. used the equivalent Greek *κυριος*. Our version, unfortunately, followed this usage. We are of opinion that there is some evidence for its being an archaic strong imperfect, Jah^avoh, which will account for the tradition of its pronunciation being ΙΑΩ.

to the consideration that a subtle and instructive regard for the significance of names is not peculiar to these names of God. Nothing can exceed the delicacy with which the significance of personal names is both preserved and handled. Let the reader carefully observe the following instance from Gen. xlv. 27, 28: 'When he saw the wagons which Joseph had sent to carry him, the spirit of Jacob their father revived, and Israel said, It is enough; Joseph my son is yet alive; I will go and see him before I die.' Notice the felicity of the change of name whereby it is recorded that Jacob, the spiritually chastened and spiritually hampered, realised in that supreme moment the return of that spiritual release and victory which was historically symbolised in the name Israel.

The following critical principle would therefore result from a careful weighing of the Hebrew use of significant names. Whereas the use of other names of God of different aspect may rank as valuable evidence in its measure of differing author or date, it is equally clear that any critical judgment arguing a difference of writer from an observed preference for one or other of these two national names which were confessedly current in the Mosaic age, and current in the nation both before* and

* If proper consideration be given to the deep meaning of the Hebrew word 'to know,' it does not follow—but on

ever afterwards, must be insecure. It will always remain to be proved that the choice of the significant name was not influenced by its relative appropriateness to what is written by one and the same writer. It is in this connection not unworthy the attention of the careful thinker that in the first three chapters of Genesis the name Elohim is exclusively used in the picture of the *power* that rose in a great order through successive stages to its visible climax in man, but when the narrative turns to specialise the initial condition of man himself and necessarily introduces with equal emphasis the thought of *power* and of *personal relation*, the two significant names Jahveh Elohim (the Lord God) which are full of these great thoughts respectively are used in combination. The combined thoughts have their outcome in the combined names.

If the due subtlety and depth be attributed to the Hebrew writer which he possesses, and which it is the custom of theoretical criticism to persistently deny to him, it is not too much to say that a certain delicate beauty and appro-

the contrary—that the name Jehovah was unknown in the English sense of ‘unknown as a word’ before Exodus vi. 3. It must have been in use before the time of Moses, for his mother’s name was Jochebed, ‘whose glory is Jehovah.’

priateness may be discovered in his choice of the name of his God in nine passages out of ten: that is to say, a reason can be given for the choice. But, in truth, the 'critical' method of splitting up the Pentateuch by the criterion of the use of 'Jehovah' or 'Elohim' preferentially entirely breaks down in the hands of those who use it. As has been pointed out, and as Dr. Driver points out (page 20), the supposed Elohist is constantly using the sacred name Jehovah, and that in typical and characteristic passages.*

There remain two further historical remarks of the utmost importance to the subject in hand, which derive their force from historical analogy. It will be well to preface them with a few words as to the meaning of historical analogy itself. Historical analogy is a kind of induction, for we see everywhere, as in everything else so in history, that like causes have like effects. And it will by no means affect the value of analogy as a direct help to a scientific conclusion that it comes from ages very different in their colour,

* In a manner truly characteristic and instructive, Wellhausen ('Prolegomena,' page 8) turns a confession of failure into a brilliance of acumen and a praise of the 'authorities.' 'Nöldeke,' he says, 'was the first to perceive that the Elohist document has come down to us *in extracts embodied in the Jehovist narrative.*' O subtlety of the 'critical' faculty!

and from peoples very divergent in their characteristics. For the stress of the evidence lies in the likeness of the cause. A like cause in very different matter will, *mutatis mutandis*, have a like effect. Historical analogy is the pole-star of historical inquiry. It is, again, a ladder by which we may reach scientific conclusions with regard to far-distant ages which would otherwise be beyond our scientific approach altogether. In this sense, then, we wish to offer two historical analogies which must essentially affect the judgment: first, as to the existence of archaisms in the Pentateuch; and, secondly, as to the verdict which the after-history of Israel affords us as to the pre-existence, the integrity, and the authority of the Pentateuchal legislation.

4. Archaisms are traces of old-world, bygone language, grammar, or syntax which, occurring in any writing or record, at once impress the reader that that writing or record is before his time, and they may, when comparatively considered, become important evidence as to date. But archaisms vary in degree. The language of Wycliffe and Chaucer is barely intelligible to us in this day. But any comparative study of English literature will show that archaic expression grows less and less. For the last three hundred years the amount of words and modes of expression

which have grown out of date or of changed significance is relatively small. But still a certain number of words and modes of expression have during this period become antiquated or of changed meaning. And if we ask the reason of the relative stability of the language during this period, the answer is not far to seek. It is because of the standard of classical English set by Shakespeare, by the translation of the Bible, and the setting forth of the Prayer-Book made three hundred years ago. By this, and the influences of which this was the impulse, as everybody will agree, the language has been fixed. It has changed but little. But a careful observation of the translation of the Bible before its recent revision will disclose words out of date or with their meaning so changed as to be generally unintelligible without explanation, as well as turns of phraseology of distinctly archaic or antiquated cast, such expressions as we should not naturally use to-day. The archaisms of the Bible in certain words and turns of phraseology at once point the reader to a bygone age for its origin. They are a kind of key to its history. Yet they are small in amount, because the standard in which they occur has so strongly impressed itself upon the nation and its literature.

For the purpose intended, the archaisms of the Authorised Version of our English Bible

may be roughly classed under the following heads: 1. Forms and parts of speech obsolete or not used in the present language. 2. Obsolete words passed out of the present language. 3. Words used in the present language, but with a meaning which in the process of time has become changed. A sufficient number of instances to make the subject clear may be given.

1. Old-fashioned tense-endings: in 'eth,' 'saith,' 'hath,' 'abode,' 'astonied,' 'attent.' Auxiliary use of the verb 'to do.' The absence of the neuter gender in a pronoun—'his' used for 'its': Exod. xii. 9, of the Paschal lamb, 'His head with his legs, and with the purtenance thereof;' of the stones of the breastplate, Exod. xxviii. 21, 'Every one with his name shall they be, according to the twelve tribes;' Exod. xxv. 31, 'His bowls, his knops, and his flowers.' So elsewhere. Obsolete use of prepositions: 'I know nothing by myself' = against myself, 1 Cor. iv. 4. 'Against,' 2 Kings xvi. 11, 'Urijah the priest made it against King Ahaz came.'

2. Words passed out of use in the present language:

(a) Technical terms: 'chapiter' = capital of a pillar; 'ouches' = settings of gold or silver; 'knop' = knob; 'taches' = fastenings.

(b) Ordinary words: to 'ear' = to plough;

'cruse' = small cup or vessel; 'charger' = a large dish; to 'amerce' = punish with a fine; 'beeves' = oxen; 'kine'; 'plat of ground'; 'fat'; 'helve'; 'quick' = living; 'strait'; 'straitness': 'tale' of bricks; 'artillery.'

3. Words in present use, but with changed meaning: 'bravery' = finery, outward show; 'conversation' = manner of life (compare an old writer, J. Hales, who speaks of 'the spirits that converse in minerals'; *i.e.*, have their haunts in minerals); 'prevent' = go before; 'carriages' = baggage; 'damnation,' in a lighter sense of condemnation, of which traces remain in the legal expression to 'damnify in costs'; 'curious' = that in which great care has been taken; 'publicans'; 'provoke'; 'quicken'; 'bonnets.'

These are only examples, by no means exhaustive, of the kind of archaism, or old-world flavour, which remains in the Authorised Version. The variations are small in amount, but this smallness of amount is of historical significance. The smallness of still existent variation is an index of the impression that the standard of classical style has made upon the national literature. But the variations themselves set a distance between us and the times when the Biblical translation was made. They are, in their amount and in their nature alike, evidences of the importance of the in-

fluence which the classical standard has exercised, and evidences of the antiquity of the standard itself. It is obvious, however, that a Biblical style may be imitated and cultivated by modern writers.

Now it is clear that we must seek for a cause for the long prevalence of the 'golden age' of the Hebrew language through many centuries of change and foreign influences. It is a standard which influences even post-captivity writers and prophets. Any reference to the 'unchanging East' will fail of its mark: for this is a notion which in itself in many ways tends to become exploded, and such a reference does not account for all the facts. The historical analogy of every similar case bids us seek for some document of genius and sacred type which has set the standard of the national language. And we find this in the Pentateuch, which was the standard and study of Hebrew writers and prophets. This is proved in detail by Professor Stanley Leathes in his 'Law in the Prophets.'

It thus becomes strongly probable that in the Pentateuch we ought to find, what the historical analogy of a similar case teaches us to expect—archaic variations relatively small in amount, but significant in kind. And the occasional imitative reproduction of parts of these

archaic variations in later writers will in no sense weaken their evidential value.

Now, this is precisely what we do find. The parallel seems to be complete. Without pretending any exhaustiveness in treatment, some of them may be suggested. Any reader of the Hebrew Pentateuch is struck by them in a manner precisely and in every way parallel to the way in which any English reader of the Bible is struck by its slightly archaic flavour. There are highly characteristic slight archaisms of form and turn of phraseology; there are obsolete words; there are words whose significance has changed in later Hebrew.

There are antiquated words. In the protevangelium of Gen. iii. 15, the word 'to bruise' (הוא ישובך ראש) is so antiquated as to make a certain difficulty as to its sense. It occurs elsewhere only in Job ix. 17, Ps. cxxxix. 11; in the last place there is so much difficulty as to suggest with some reason an emended text. In Job its usage is different in its imagery—'He breaketh me with a tempest.' Its meaning is practically certain, but the word is clearly archaic and very ancient. Note also in verse 8 the archaic turn of expression, היום לררה, in the cool of the day. There are antiquated words in all parts of the Pentateuch, whose use has either died away or for which

other words are used in later times, of which some illustrations follow.

It is important to observe, further, that Genesis has features, again small in amount, but significant in kind, which tend to set it by itself in the Pentateuch. And this is in conformity with its historical position. An endeavour will be made to indicate some of these as we go on. The reader will pardon any want of thoroughness, which must necessarily result from the attempt to deal with what is evidently a very large subject in the small space which can here be allowed to it. All that is possible is to try to make the drift and tendency of the facts come out clearly.

(1) Antiquated words in the Pentateuch:

(a) Technical terms used of the tabernacle: **מכסה**, the covering; used of Noah's ark and the tabernacle. **זר**, a crown. **כפתור**, a knop (once in Amos and once in Zephaniah, of a door, and in a slightly different sense). **ו**, a hook. **קרסים**, 'taches,' or loops. **פרכת**, the vail (once in 2 Chronicles, of the vail). **טבעת**, ring (elsewhere of finger-rings). **מקשה**, beaten work (once in Jeremiah in a different sense). **שטים**, **תחש** (as in Note C to Chapter I.). **מכבר**, a grate. **ברים**, staves; elsewhere in a different sense. **כפרת**, the mercy-seat (once in 1 Chronicles, of the mercy-seat).

קרשים, boards. ארן, sockets (twice elsewhere in slightly different sense). קערה, a dish or 'charger.' קצוה, end (elsewhere twice different).

(b) Of things used and of the priest's dress : השן, breastplate. ציץ, in the sense of a plate. ציצת, fringe. אבנט, girdle. סמים, spices. מלאה, מלאים, in peculiar senses, and only in Pentateuch. משקרים, shaped like almonds. גביע, cup or bowl ; later, גלה, מצנפת, a mitre ; possibly פשתה, in the sense of linen. משור, fine twined, of linen. שש, linen (three times later in an entirely different sense). מקוה is apparently used for precisely the same Egyptian article of commerce in 1 Kings x. 28. We know 'the best Hebraists' adopt another rendering ; but the word is singular, and the LXX. make a shot at its meaning, and say something about Tekoa, which, possibly, was the place of a horse-fair in Jerusalem, after their manner when they are at sea. Their shot by no means implies another reading, but is after their manner. When the meaning of the root is considered (קוה, torsit ; compare תקוה, Joshua ii. 18, 'cord'), and the celebrity of this Egyptian article of commerce, of which otherwise no mention could be made, the Authorised Version may not be so much out after all. Moreover, the word 'merchants'

(סחרים) sounds strangely in connection with horses, though, indeed, in one passage of Ezekiel merchants are spoken of in connection with lambs and rams and goats; but is not the usage somewhat peculiar? * סרין and בויִן occur in later use of fine linen. Akin to this subject: רקם, to embroider; טוה, to spin. Later in Proverbs the word for spindle is מגבעות כישור, bonnets.

(c) Ceremonial and legal words: משה, anointing oil. חזה, breast. שבתון, rest. שוק, in technical sense of shoulder. תנופה, wave-offering; twice in Isaiah in different sense. אגרה, bunch (of hyssop); elsewhere in different sense. קרבן, offering. טוטפות, frontlets. A considerable number of words relating to diseases and defects, such as גרבת, גרב, בהרת, גרב, שגגה, גבן, קרהת, בהק, later usage, error. קרי, against or contrary.

* Would not the probable translation and meaning stand thus: 'As for the bringing of the horses which were for Solomon out of Egypt, and as to linen yarn, the king's merchants (*i.e.*, who had the monopoly) took (and negotiated) linen yarn at a price (*i.e.*, as merchandise bought and sold at the current market value). A chariot, however, was raised (came up), and came out of Egypt (not in the hands of the king's merchants) by contract, at the fixed contract price named, and a horse the same, and at the same contract price they brought out by the hands of Solomon's servants for all the kings of the Hittites and for the kings of Syria'?

עמית, neighbour or fellow (once in Zech. xiii. 7, in same sense, but different construction: 'the man of my society,' *i.e.*, my equal and associate). מום, blemish. מוך, to wax poor. פרם (Hiphil), to divide the hoof. There is a group of words which tend to show the pre-Mosaic importance of the *family* and its rights: גאל; רור, uncle; רורה, father's sister; יבמת יבם, brother-in-law, sister-in-law, and the verb to 'perform the duty of a brother-in-law' from it; התן, near relation by marriage; ארש, to betroth; מהר, to endow; מהר, dowry. Some of these words are peculiar to the Pentateuch; others chiefly in the Pentateuch and derived from it.

There are many antiquated names of animals.

Now it is submitted that these words stand in exact parallel and analogy to the technical words found in the Authorised Version. To make clear what is meant: קרשים, פרכת, זר are derived from obsolete or very rare roots (in the case of פרכת traces of the root are only found in the Pentateuch). וו is of uncertain, but probably ancient etymology. The same or a similar remark applies to the majority of the instances given. And sometimes the same words are used in a changed sense in the later language, as has been pointed out. The argument stands thus: if the quaint technical

words of the Authorised Version, derived from old roots, are evidence—as they undoubtedly are—to the age of the Authorised Version, the Pentateuch presents phenomena in every way analogous. The list given is not in any sense exhaustive,* and may be indefinitely increased.

(d) Antiquated ordinary words: **דִּישׁ**, to tread out corn. **עִבַּט**, to lend; later, **לוּה**, in Hiphil. **פֶּרֶךְ**, rigour. **גּוּעַ**, to die; an old, peculiar word, found in Job and three other places elsewhere. **מָלַק**, to wring the neck. **פָּרַם**, to rend of clothes; later, **קָרַע**, and also in Pentateuch. **רָכַם**, to bind. **פָּרַשׁ**, dung; later, **עִנַּק**, **צָפִיעַ**, **צָפֹעַ**, or **צוּאָה**, to ‘furnish liberally.’ **יָרַק** and **רָקַק**, to spit (a custom, apparently, of undue prominence in Israel in Egypt). The prominence of **כָּקַל** and **רָגַם**, to stone, the somewhat crude form of death-penalty which had sprung up amongst the somewhat uncivilised families of Israel in Egypt; neither word is found in Genesis. **מִקְוֵה**, in the sense of reservoir; in the later language **בִּרְכָּה** is used for the same thing. **כִּבְלֵת**, burdens. **תֵּכֵן**, ‘tale,’ or measure of bricks.

* The appearance in Ezekiel of words otherwise peculiar to the Pentateuch is considered in Note A to this chapter. It is also to be considered that those who invented the tabernacle according to Wellhausen, must have invented the bulk of the language that describes it.

מכסה, number or value. מקרא, 'convocation,' with the epithet 'holy.' רצע, to bore, and its derivative מרצע, an awl. מין, kind. מכס, tribute. צי, a ship, with other peculiarities of expression in Balaam's speeches; elsewhere three times; most probably quotations, as that in Daniel is certainly. The usual word is אסון. אניה, mischief. אכמים, storehouses or barns; quoted once in Proverbs. דגל, standard of tribes (once in 'the Song of Solomon'); later, נם, which is used thrice in the Pentateuch in slightly different sense. זכור, male. זמה, in the sense of lewdness. משש, to feel. קריא, renowned; elsewhere, 'men of name'; later, אדיר, which occurs in Exod. xv. 10 in a different sense. פרט, windfall, or stray fruit; דשן, ashes; probably derived from the Pentateuch in its later use. שגר, foetus. פתיל, fringe, or riband. ערב, in sense of 'mixed multitude,' and, differently pointed, 'swarms.' צמיד, bracelet; later, probably, שרות. עצם, bone, in the sense 'self-same, or very.' שמט, to release; later, in a different sense; and the noun שמטה, release. סגלה, in the sense 'peculiar people,' 'people of treasure' (Exod. xix. 5); in Deut., when the idea of inheritance is coming into view for the people, the idea of the people themselves being the inheritance of Jehovah is added. צבה, to swell; also בצה, to swell. בעט, to kick. בעיר,

beasts. בקרת, scourging. זוב, to flow; chiefly in Pentateuch. סל, מנא, basket; later words for basket: דודי, כלוב, דוד. גף, body, in the expression (in Exod. xxi. 3, 4) בגפו, by himself. גרה, twenty gerahs to shekel. געל, principally in Leviticus, 'to abhor.' משה, lending, master of lending=creditor (Deut. xv. 2); later, נשה. The prominence of שירה as characterising the 'heroic poetry,' which is the prevailing poetry of the Pentateuch; else in manifest allusion or different sense. גרה, cud. משה, to draw out; Exod. ii. 10, and two manifest allusions to it only. תשומת, translated 'fellowship.' The prominence of גר, גור, to sojourn, sojourner, and their derivatives. נוא, to disallow. ערף, to drop down as rain. תנוך, tip. אבן, in sense of 'weight'; afterwards פלם, פגול, abomination. ערף, to break the neck, מולת, circumcision. צור, of a flint knife. אבנים, midwife's stool. רגלים, in the sense of 'times.' לח, 'natural force,' moisture. חסם, to muzzle; once in Ezekiel in a different sense. שרין, to swarm, and its derivative noun. מסכנת, scarceness. קרן, to radiate, shine, like horns, of Moses' face only, in Exod. xxxiv. (hence through Vulgate, 'cornutam Moysi faciem,' the absurd notion of a horned Moses, perpetuated in Michael Angelo's sculpture); also מסוה, here only of Moses' vail. (The earlier word for vail

in Genesis is צַעִף; a later word, רָדִיד, of women's vails.) שֹׂאֵר, a blood relation. נָתַח, to cut in pieces, and its noun (Pentateuch mostly; elsewhere probably derived). נָזַח, to sprinkle (Pentateuch mostly). שָׁיָה, to be unmindful (the ordinary word to forget, שָׁכַח). שְׂדִים, demons; for which Isaiah has צִיִּים. עֲזַזֵּל, Azazel; אֲבִיב, Abib, the names of the months being changed later. יֶשְׁרוּן, Jeshurun. עֲשֵׂתְרוֹת, flocks.

There is not the slightest pretension to completeness in this list. If the reader will have the kindness to add all the peculiarities in all Professor Driver's lists, which have, more or less purposely, been scarcely touched, he will get a completer idea. And many more curious words and expressions may be added still.

Now it is again submitted that these words and expressions stand in a position exactly parallel and equivalent to the archaic expressions of ordinary language in the Authorised Version. And it is suggested that in many instances they are far more characteristic and suggestive in their archaic flavour. But, even so, the reader will not rightly appreciate the force of these things unless he carefully bears in mind that a great mass of words and ideas, very common and ordinary to later times, have no place at all in any way in the Pentateuch.

They belong to later times. So the Pentateuch has words and ideas not found elsewhere; later times have words and ideas not found in the Pentateuch. It is obvious that the proof of this cannot be given here, because it would take up too much space; but the proof is easy.

(2) There are words in the Pentateuch that in later times have weakened or changed meaning.

שָׁמַט, to release, is used in later times in a different sense, to shake or throw. **נִרְפָּה**, idle, Exod. v. (is used peculiarly Exod. iv. 26). The general sense of **רָפָה**, later, is to be feeble or to weaken. Other words for 'idle' later. **עֲרָמָה**, in a bad sense, guile; in Proverbs, in a good sense, wisdom, prudence. **פָּרִין**, in the sense of spreading abroad, growing; later, to break, or urge. **חָלַשׁ**, to discomfit; slightly different elsewhere. **חֲרִין**, maimed; elsewhere in different sense. **רָלָה**, to draw water; later, in metaphorical sense, **שָׁאב**, being used commonly in literal sense. **לֹון**, in Niphal and Hiphil, in peculiar sense, 'to murmur' ('contumacem se gessit manendi et persistendi significatu'); later, in Hiphil, to cause to lodge, harbour; hence, noun only in Pentateuch, **תִּלְנוּת מוֹסַר**, chastisement; later, tends towards weaker sense of instruction. **לָבַן**, to make bricks; later, different, to be white.

התעמר, to make merchandise; Piel, in Psalm, to bind sheaves. צרה, to lie in wait; after usage slightly different. אבר, once in primitive sense of wandering, nomad; else generally, to perish; compare the stronger sense the word 'damn' has attained. רמה, to throw, overthrow; later, to shoot, of bows. מטה, beneath of position; later, slightly different. וזהר, to teach; later, to warn. קשר, in Pentateuch, to bind; later, in sense of combination, to conspire. The passive and Pual participle is used in Genesis only in the sense of 'strong.' קרה, to happen; the use of this word seems in some respects peculiar. There is a slight archaic flavour in the use of קרב, קרוב, compared with their later use. חגג, to keep a feast, is used later in a derived sense, of that which accompanies feasting. עלילה, in peculiar use in Deut. xxii. 14, 17, 'occasions' of speech; later, 'works,' 'doings.'

These things, slight in themselves, if taken together and with other examples to be offered out of Genesis, would seem to be precisely parallel to the changes of meaning observable in the current use of certain English words from their meaning in the Authorised Version. The reader is requested to consider that the variations of the Authorised Version are slight in themselves.

(3) There are archaic forms and turns of expression.

The reader is requested to observe that these are matters of common observation, not confined to the so-called 'conservative' school, or any other school. Such men as Ewald and Gesenius are sufficiently delivered from the imputation of party leaning. It will be a hard matter for Professor Driver to obliterate them from the Pentateuch, because they are there.

(a) Ewald gives the following :

The common use of אֵל for the later אֱלֹהִים, 'these.' The old termination ('the original and fuller form') of the third person plural of verbs in וְיִּן. This use is more common in the Pentateuch than in any other book. A special archaism in the speech of Moses is its use in the perfect יִדְעוֹן (Deut. viii. 3, 16).

(b) Gesenius gives the following :

הוּא, 'he,' used as a feminine for 'she,' היא, 195 times in the Pentateuch. נֶעַר, masculine, boy, used for feminine, נַעֲרָה. The reader is requested attentively to observe the close parallelism of the use of 'his' for 'its' in the Authorised Version. צֶעַק, צָחַק, have in the later books preferentially softer forms, שָׁחַק, זָעַק.

(c) Keil gives the following infinitive of verbs :

In the verbs הָ=לֵּ in י or ה, instead of later וַת. This is a more primitive form.

Others are: The shortening of the Hiphil, לראת (Deut. i. 33), לעשר (Deut. xxvi. 12). מאה, hundred, used in the construct case, where it is ordinarily used absolutely (Driver, page 124). שלשים, third. The older form, כשב, lamb, interchanged with the later form, כבש. The older form זכור, male, for זכר. The old case-endings, ה, י, ה, accusative (called ה locale), more frequent in the Pentateuch than elsewhere; in the later language its original sense tends to become weakened and almost obliterated, and it is used with the prepositions ל, ב, of place or direction; י in שכני, אבי, בני (in these words, and words like them, more often in the Pentateuch); ו, 'in prose only in the Pentateuch' (Gesenius), חיתו, בנו.*

These forms and turns of archaic phraseology are, as it should seem, entirely on a footing with similar forms and turns of archaic phraseology in the Authorised Version. The recurrence of some of them in the later, generally poetic, language, does not destroy the force of their significance as proofs of the

* Roediger's 'Gesenius,' pages 195-199. Dr. Driver in the May *Expositor*, 1892, page 340, points out, indeed, that these case-endings occur in the later language, chiefly *in poetry*. But this by no means does away with the fact that these 'old-case endings' occur *in prose* only, or chiefly, in the Pentateuch.

age of a document. The occurrence of such expressions as 'saith,' 'hath,' 'abode,' 'attent' in modern English, or English later than the Authorised Version, by no means takes away from their significance, taken together with their *contextual surroundings*, of their occurrence in the Authorised Version as signs of its age.

(4) The book of Genesis is set apart from the rest of the Pentateuch by slight indications of its phraseology.

(a) There are antiquated words in it which do not even occur in the rest of the Pentateuch, and have other words in use for them in the later language. **תְּשׁוּקָה**, the 'desire' of wife towards husband, younger brother towards elder probably (Gen. iii. 16; iv. 7); quoted in Song of Songs vii. 10 only. A not quite equivalent synonym in use later is **תַּאוּה**, which is used peculiarly in Genesis, and only in the sense of 'lust' in the Pentateuch. This last word is used generally in a good sense in the later language. **דִּרְדֹר**, thistle; only else in a manifest quotation in Hosea; the later word for thistle is **חֹה**. **בְּהוּ**, emptiness, in phrase **תְּהוּ וּבְהוּ**, without form and void. Later, in two quotations. **אֵל שָׁרִי**, God Almighty; once in a reference, Exod. vi. 3; **שָׁרִי** occurs by itself later, chiefly in Job and

allusions to Genesis. תבה, of Noah's ark ; else only Exod. ii., of the ark in which Moses was laid. כר, of a camel's pillion or litter ; elsewhere in Pentateuch, a lamb. The word for 'lamb' in Genesis is כשב, בבשה, ששה, ברלה, bdellium. מבול, the flood. בר and שבר, corn ; not elsewhere in Pentateuch ; but רגן, which is also used in Genesis. בריא, fat ; not elsewhere in Pentateuch, where שמן occurs in the same sense. מנים, ten times. אמתה, sack ; elsewhere, שק. קר, cold ; elsewhere, קרה, צנה, פסים, of many colours (probably of its shape). סהר, prison ; later, בור, פקדה, פתר, to interpret. לט, myrrh ; מר, later, probably for the same thing, but perhaps a different kind. כנים, true men. מטעמים, savoury meat. גפר, gopher wood. כפר, pitch ; elsewhere different in sense in Pentateuch, and later ; the word used in Exod. ii. of the pitch which the mother of Moses used for her ark is זפת. There are many other instances of the same kind, and many a peculiar old-world expression and ancient name, geographical and personal, peculiar to Genesis, only in the Pentateuch. 'To be fruitful and multiply' is a phrase characteristic of Genesis. Brass and iron are only mentioned once in Genesis.

(b) There are words with changed meaning, even in the Pentateuch, and in the sense they

bear, often their primitive sense, used only in Genesis. The use of קנים, nests, for the compartments of the ark; elsewhere, of birds' nests. זור, in its primitive sense, to stew or seethe pottage; elsewhere in Pentateuch, to be proud, act presumptuously, but not so used in Genesis. בשל is the word to seethe, both in the rest of the Pentateuch and later. ציד, צירה, in its primitive sense, of what is caught in hunting; else in the Pentateuch and later in general sense, of victuals. בלל, to confound; elsewhere in Pentateuch, to mix. צלע, of Adam's rib or side (probably not rib); elsewhere in Pentateuch and later of things only, side or side-chamber. לטש, to instruct; elsewhere, to sharpen in literal sense. דק, thin, literally; elsewhere, small. דפק, to overdrive; later, to knock. פתה, Hiphil, in sense of making wide, expanding; in Gen. ix. 27, יפת ליפת, 'may God, or God shall make wide room for Japheth' (whose name means extension).^{*} To be wide or open is the primitive sense of פתה, but elsewhere in Pen-

^{*} It may not be out of place to make a remark here about the etymologies of Genesis and elsewhere, which the 'critic' will have none of. The etymologies are often valid enough. But often they may not be intended to be etymologies in the strict sense. Their main object is to affix an instructive and notable significance to a name. It is the significance of names that is dwelt upon.

tateuch it is to be deceived, to entice; not in this sense in Genesis. יָרוֹן, in Gen. vi. 3, 'My spirit shall not rule for ever in man;' probably in primitive sense of 'rule,' from which is derived the usual meaning, to judge. צֶלֶם, of the 'image' in which God made man, or the 'image' he transmits to posterity; elsewhere, in Numbers, and later, of idol images, or in a bad sense. דְּמוּת, of the 'likeness' in which man was made, and which he transmits to posterity; later, appearance, fashion, of things. גִּלָּה, Niphal, Gen. xxxv. 7, 'God revealed Himself to him'; in Deuteronomy, in participle and passive sense, only in Pentateuch. אָרוֹן, used after of 'the ark,' is used in Genesis only of a mummy-case, or coffin. הִנֵּט, to embalm, is used in Song of Songs in the sense to ripen (the radical meaning, to spice, or season, being used of mellowing fruit). מָגֵן, to deliver; in Proverbs different; in Hosea probably quoted.

(c) There are old forms. Eve (like Jehovah, from an old form, הוּוֹה, to be) comes from an old form of הוּוֹה, to live. הוּוֹה also occurs once in Genesis.

There are probably also many peculiarities of usage of slight archaic flavour separating Genesis even in the Pentateuch; e.g., in the use of prepositions. The reader is begged also to consider that words of very usual occurrence

in the rest of the Pentateuch do not occur in Genesis.

It is submitted that all these things, small in amount, and perhaps often slight in degree, are yet more strongly significant of archaic flavour than the archaisms observable in the Authorised Version, which they resemble in kind.*

But there is yet another source of evidence in the Pentateuch. Contact with Egypt, we have seen, to some extent brought amongst the children of Israel Egyptian art and fashions; but it also brought Egyptian language. From the time when this contact begins to the time it ceases there is a steady introduction of Egyptian words.

Hence (5) there are words of Egyptian and not Hebrew derivation introduced from Egypt into the Pentateuch, some of which are continued in the later language, and some of which are confined to the Pentateuch. This is also a matter of fact, of which no doubt can be entertained. It is not an invention of the 'conservative' school, it is a matter of common observation.

Some of them may be given: **אֶרֶב**, Nile grass. **אֶבֶר**, the Egyptian word for hailing

* On the general subject of the book of Genesis the reader may consult 'Quarry on Genesis,' which is not out of date.

Joseph. **יֶאֱנַךְ**, river; used of the Nile. **מֶשֶׁה**, probably from mesu, a son (which Egyptian word has its root idea 'drawn out,' produced, brought forth, and is cognate to the Hebrew root **מִשַּׁךְ**, **נִשָּׂא מֶשֶׁה**, possibly **מוֹשֶׁה**), in which case the princess's words would mean, 'Here is a son, as it were, produced (or born) to me from the waters' of the river—a river deemed sacred. This would be the reference of the significant name Moses; or else the LXX., writing in Egypt, may have been right in the derivation through the Coptic *Μωυσης*, 'water saved.' **זֶפֶת**, pitch, possibly **חֶמֶר**, 'slime.' **תְּבֵנָה**, a cradle (also used of Noah's ark), said to be a common word in Egyptian. **כְּנֵם** or **כֵּן**, translated 'lice'; identified with Egyptian chenemms, mosquito. **כִּבְשֵׁן**, 'furnace,' probably from Egyptian kabusa, carbo. To these add the Egyptian proper names, which have their significance in Egyptian only, and a considerable number of other words of like kind to those given.*

The coincidences with the Egyptian history of the monuments in the Pentateuch, though not of equal certainty in all their parts, are

* The reader may consult with advantage on this subject Canon Cook's 'Essay on the Egyptian Words in the Pentateuch,' in vol. i. of the 'Speaker's Commentary,' which it is more easy to pooh-pooh than to ignore.

yet worthy of the careful attention of anyone who wishes to attain the truth on the whole question.

Now, of the foregoing facts, which by no means in any sort of way exhaust the subject, but do but suggest its bearing, there is one meaning. Taken together, they bear witness both to the age and to the importance of the Pentateuch as a document and as a whole. Their relative slightness and smallness in amount point to the fact that this document has for many centuries fixed the Hebrew language of what is called the golden age. But, on the other hand, their clear significance as archaisms sets a distance of time between them and the later products of Hebrew literature. The characteristic combination of true variations with comparative slightness of variation indicates this. The character of the language is still stronger evidence against the Pentateuch being to a great extent a product of the silver age of the Hebrew language, the age just preceding and just after the Captivity.

From the standpoint of mere abstract possibility, we might interpret these observed variations perhaps in other ways. But the strong historical analogy of the archaisms of the

Authorised Version teaches us how to read the meaning of the facts. The Pentateuch in every part presents us with the exact phenomena which historical analogy teaches us to expect in every ancient document, which by its importance has set for ages the style and language of a national literature.

For the rest, the true and most interesting historical lessons and inferences, which the language of the whole Hebrew literature is calculated to teach the accurate observer, seem to us to resemble some imperfectly explored country, which the theoretical critic has traversed indeed, but from which, owing to the colour of his spectacles* and the complete absorption of his attention in seeking the phantoms and creatures of his own imagination, he has brought back no correct or satisfactory account of the flora and fauna. It is conceivable that an able man, who should equip an expedition into the northern seas to find the sea-serpent,† might return comparatively empty of true observations of the creature life that was really there, but possibly with a good number of views on other subjects, which the public might be inclined on the whole to

* He will have nothing ancient.

† If that be not a mythical beast, then some other.

take at a discount upon a review of the whole case.

5. It will not escape observation that a greater stress is laid by recent criticism upon historical considerations. The 'critics' of to-day tend to express their argument somewhat as follows: Points of style and language, they say, may either have too shadowy and too subjective an existence, or may be susceptible, and equally susceptible, of another explanation from that given. In themselves they are not absolutely decisive. Cumulative probability results from their multiplication. But in the historical field, it is said, the critical conclusions find their stricter confirmation. The history of Israel is the stronger ground of the critical evidences. The history of Israel down to the Captivity is supposed to be incompatible with the integrity, or even the pre-existence, of a great part of what is known as the Mosaic legislation. 'The pre-exilic period shows no indications of the legislation of P as being in operation,' we are told (Driver's 'Introduction,' page 129).

'The *consistent* disregard of P in Deuteronomy,' we are told again, 'admits of but one interpretation' (page 76), and that is that the author of Deuteronomy did not know of P, which was in his time in no important way existent. That is, the argument runs thus:

because the author of Deuteronomy, addressing a large and mixed audience upon the spirit of their constitution, does not mention the ceremonial institutions more or less in every-day usage amongst them, therefore they did not exist. Just so might we argue that if an eminent English lawyer, addressing a general audience on the spirit of English law and English religion, and going into some detail, should never mention ecclesiastical ceremonies which were taking place every day, or the Prayer-Book system and its rubrics, that would be an argument that they did not exist. And yet he might readily do this from an opinion that the outward framework of ceremony was every day impressing itself practically upon the people, but that the spirit and meaning and social bearing of these things upon social life and action was what needed emphasis and exposition. The Archbishop of Canterbury's Church Congress speeches will lie ready to the hand of some future critic in this matter. He will be able to prove from them that the Archbishop never gave any ritual judgment of elaborate order at all, because his was not even a legal mind, and he did not even know of the existence of the Prayer Book, which a partisan press mythically record him to have expounded.

Again, we are told, the materials for the

early history of Israel are, for these reasons, so uncertain that it is best to discard the existing historical records, and to piece the real history together from the prophets.* And the historical principles that underlie this proceeding are plainly twofold. It goes upon the suppositions that (1) historic silence and (2) historic contradictory usage prove the non-existence of legislation, or the mythical nature of a historical record. It is supposed to be a safe historical inference that where there are no allusions in history to certain legislation, or where there is evidence in history of usages, or customs, or practices clearly inconsistent with such legislation, there there is proof of its non-existence. There is, it is supposed, excellent reason for imagining that 'the P legislation' had its full observance during the four hundred years before our Lord, where there are no sufficient historical allusions of any kind to determine what was the contemporary custom, and during which time the local synagogue and the authority of Rabbinism, and of scribes and lawyers, and of Pharisees, were the growing national influences. But before this time there are no traces of its

* *E.g.*, in Kuenen's 'Religion of Israel'; and Wellhausen in the Preface to the 'Prolegomena' speaks of the real history of Israel as 'rude and colourless.'

being in operation, from Solomon's age downwards. And, on the contrary, there are things found in the history contrary to 'its fundamental institutions.' (1) Historical silence and (2) historical inconsistency are supposed to be proofs of the non-existence of a law. Now, these principles may be tested. They may be brought, not theoretically, but actually, into relation with facts that are certain. They may be compared with the facts of historical analogy. We must treat every other history as we treat the Sacred History. We must treat every other book as we treat the Sacred Book. Let us look at these arguments a little more closely from this point of view, and let us take the argument from historical silence first.

1. The argument from historical silence is an old friend. We some of us remember what great things used to be wrought out of 'the silence of Eusebius.' But it may apparently be pushed too far. Let us therefore attentively examine (a) what is the exact import and manner of the argument applied to the Old Testament; (b) what is the verdict of historical analogy upon the value which the argument so applied has, as a critical method of inquiry, calculated to secure true and trustworthy results; and (c) in what sense are the facts of the Hebrew history and literature corre-

spondent to what this argument asserts of them.

(a) We are not left in doubt as to the manner and attitude of mind in which the argument is applied. Wellhausen in an interesting autobiographical passage tells us how he went about his 'investigations.' The reader is asked attentively to observe what follows. Wellhausen says :* ' It may not be out of place here to refer to my personal experience. In my early student days I was attracted by the stories of Saul and David, Ahab and Elijah ; the discourses of Amos and Isaiah laid strong hold on me, and I read myself well into the prophetic and historical' (*i.e.*, later) ' books of the Old Testament. Thanks to such aids as were accessible to me, I even considered that I understood them tolerably, but at the same time I was troubled with a bad conscience, as if I were beginning with the roof instead of the foundation, for I had no thorough acquaintance with the Law, of which I was accustomed to be told that it was the basis and postulate of the whole literature. At last I took courage and made my way through Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and even through Knobel's Commentary to these books. But it was in vain that I looked for the light which was to be shed from this source on the

* Wellhausen's ' Prolegomena,' Introduction, page 3.

historical' (*i.e.*, later) 'and prophetical books. On the contrary, my enjoyment of the latter was marred by the Law; it did not bring them any nearer me, but intruded itself uneasily, like a ghost that makes a noise indeed, but is not visible, and really effects nothing. Even where there were points of contact between it and them, differences also made themselves felt, and I found it impossible to give a candid decision in favour of the priority of the law. Dimly I began to perceive that throughout there was between them all the difference that separates two wholly distinct worlds. At last, in the course of a casual visit in Göttingen in the summer of 1867, I learned through Ritschl that Karl Heinrich Graf placed the Law later than the prophets; and almost without knowing his reasons for the hypothesis I was prepared to accept it. I readily acknowledged to myself the possibility of understanding Hebrew antiquity without the book of the Torah.' We observe here that a false historical method led to a purely æsthetic and theoretical conception, which led in turn to an immediate reception of a theory without any examination of the arguments for it. This is the genesis of the great Wellhausenian hypothesis. To support this by 'brilliant' arguments was henceforth a foregone conclusion.

There is an originality in speaking of the simplicity, the beauty, and the graciousness of the Law, in its time-honoured histories and its noble inspiring principles, as 'like a ghost that makes a noise indeed, but is not visible, and really effects nothing,' which is more striking than apposite. Reverence and depth of intuition are not characteristics of Wellhausen's manner. But the historical method employed is demonstrably false, and the purely æsthetic and theoretic conclusion does not follow. The proof lies in historical analogy. A critic may be imagined in some future century who might first study the period of history in which we live—the latter part of the nineteenth century. He might find that in it he met with things that were real and congenial to his understanding. He might then turn with a sigh to a study of the Elizabethan period, which might not be so much to his mind. He might 'begin to dimly perceive that throughout there was between the Elizabethan period and the nineteenth century all the difference which separates two whole worlds.' He might then come casually across somebody who had a theory that the literature of the Elizabethan period was a product of the development of the nineteenth century. He might swallow this theory at once, without examining the arguments.

He might then by 'brilliancy' of criticism clear the Elizabethan period of its literature and its history, and find the 'real' history 'rude and colourless.' And he might then 'readily acknowledge to himself the possibility of understanding the nineteenth century without the Elizabethan period.' But before the bar of serious historical criticism and research he would lay himself open to being convicted of a false historical method and a superficial temper of mind. Behind the nineteenth century there lies, not perhaps so much expressed as rather deeply implied and understood, the history and literature of the Elizabethan period—the admixture of races, Roman law, village community custom, Church history, and a thousand other influences that make together the history of the nation. 'Brilliant' criticism on behalf of a foregone conclusion might find but few and uncertain allusions to these things in the current literature and politics of modern England. But to scientifically understand modern England without them would be an impossibility. The conclusion does not follow.

(b) But we are fortunately not left to any picture of what might be in our estimate of the historical and scientific validity of this process. A gentleman has offered himself as an *experimentum crucis in corpore vili*. The precise

Wellhausenian method has been employed in another department of history, which for us in England has been too much illuminated by solid scholarship to make the result as to its value seem to most of us doubtful. The reader is earnestly invited to carefully notice that what follows is exactly the Wellhausenian method, only applied to other matter. He is begged to mark the result. A certain gentleman named 'Edwin Johnson, M.A.' has recently (in 1890) had a book published from the office of Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., called 'The Rise of Christendom.' In it he proves by 'brilliant' criticism that just as in Wellhausen's critical researches 'Judaism' is the corporation from which the Pentateuch for the most part takes its rise, so, to use his own words, the following conclusion is arrived at: 'Christianism,' he says, 'is the system of a corporation; it is the theory of the primitive monks; no other primitive Christians are to be ascertained' (Preface, page ix.). Mr. Johnson, too, favours us with an interesting autobiographical account of the way in which this conviction dawned upon him, and of the method of his critical researches.* 'In 1886 I occupied myself in finding an answer to a question propounded by the Teyler Theological

* Pages 4, 5, and 46 chiefly.

Society of Haarlem. The student was required by the conditions of the question to close the New Testament, and to ascertain the origin of Christianity from the Christian and from the Græco-Roman writers of the second century. I found that the Imperial writers, so to call them for convenience' sake, know nothing of the New Testament, nothing of those strong dramatic representations which have been familiar to us from childhood, as derived from hearing or reading the Church lessons. Christianity was a system of mystical ideas derived from a capricious exegesis of Old Testament writings.' Mr. Johnson then proceeded to carry his studies into Eusebius, the first Church historian, A.D. 315. 'My previous results,' he says, 'were confirmed by the study of Eusebius. I saw the canonical books were still unknown, except in a bare scheme,* to this writer, who pretends to be contemporaneous with Constantine; and that he had no historical sources whatever. But this writer lays bare the great historical dogma of the Church, which from the first governed all its enterprises, both of sword and pen—the dogma that the Church was coeval with the Roman Empire itself. In

* The reader is earnestly requested to observe the exact parallel of the result supposed to be scientific in the Wellhausenian school of Old Testament criticism.

further researches I found that the whole of the earliest Church literature proceeded from the cloisters of the two primitive orders of St. Basil and St. Benedict. They, and they alone, were the inventors of the designation *Christiani* and of the whole system of ideas connected with it. Their literature was persistently ante-dated into times when it could not have been written. The whole problem was now to ascertain when this monastic confederacy began their literary enterprise.' Again, 'the great corporations that we call nations all possess views of the past which are the product of poetic and patriotic imagination.' 'The catacomb Christian antiquities were the inventions of the fifteenth century. The cross, which was the imperial sign of victory, was Christ not crucified, but above the cross in glory. Nothing is more important, therefore, than to distinguish between the associations of the old-world cross, the exhibition of which put demons and foes to flight, and those of the Passionary cross or crucifix, which especially denotes hatred of the Jews.' There is a further statement on page 384, which may be commended to the attention of those who move in the circles of the Palestine Exploration Fund and others: 'It may be added that the geography of the New Testament is the incorrect geography

of the time of the third Crusade, while Syria was yet a dreamland in the conception of the West.' There is something specially rich in flavour, if unexpected, in this.

But on page 46 does Mr. Johnson sum up his results in this interesting manner: 'It has cost us but a few paragraphs to state with brevity the blankly negative results of this branch of the evidence as to the existence of the Church or of Christians during the period of the Empire.' That is to say, the study of the historical and prophetic books of the second and third centuries, with a closed New Testament, has led Mr. Johnson to discredit the historical nature of the New Testament, and to infer its invention in the cloisters of the two primitive orders of St. Basil and St. Benedict. He 'readily acknowledges to himself the possibility of understanding Christian antiquity without the books of the New Testament.'

Now, it is supposed that most persons of sufficient information on the subject will view all this with a quiet smile. But our object is to press home this inquiry. If a method employed upon the New Testament leads to results demonstrably false and untrustworthy, is the same method, pursued with reference to the Old Testament step for step, principle for

principle, result for result, worthy of graver consideration?

The method of Mr. Edwin Johnson, applied to a subject better understood and more scientifically explored, is exactly in every respect the method of Wellhausen and Kuenen applied to a subject less understood, less explored, more ancient, more difficult, and at present apparently, for a large number of persons, more in the dark. But is a method which is plainly fallacious in the one case to be trusted in the other?

The truth is that this historical method, in the hands of an intellectual giant even, is capable of only delusive results. And the reason of this lies deep in the very nature of history and literature. The contemporary historian will not dwell with special emphasis upon those features of his times which are common to the past. He tends to pass them by, content with a slight allusion to them. He will presume that all men are acquainted with the history of their country. He has to deal with the special developments and noteworthy, and therefore strange and differentiated, events of his period. The more strongly fixed and prevalent are institutions and practices in the national life, the more will the prophet and the poet be content with casual allusions to them,

or new and striking observations as to their meaning. The very object of history and literature is to avoid the same ground. It is useless to labour what all men know. And it is perfectly easy for perverted ingenuity, especially after a lapse of ages, to twist such allusions and such records into a meaning out of accord with the history of a nation's past. It may be a safe supposition that anyone who should undertake the investigation of any primitive institution of the past of English history from the literature and histories of the nineteenth century, must perforce give to the public an idea of it which shall be scientifically foolish in the last degree. The past is not to be so approached. We are possessed of a history of our own time, in which, as far as we are aware, there is no allusion to the Lord Mayor's Show, to the ceremonies of the opening of Parliament, to the existence of law courts, to the prevalence of the Anglican chant in cathedral services. If we are to pursue the argument from historical silence to the length to which, if it is a true method, it should be pursued, everywhere the most remarkable things would start up on every side. As far as we are aware, Shakespeare makes no allusion to the defeat of the Armada, which occurred in 1588. Shakespeare published his first work, apparently, in 1593,

and died in 1616. There is no allusion to it in Bacon, nor yet in Hooker, as far as we are aware. If there should be any allusions, they are not, apparently, of the importance which so tremendous an event would seem to justify. Seneca and Claudius never mention Christianity, which was the rising social force of their day. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews never mentions Isaiah liii., which would seem to be almost in the path of his argument.

(c) But, again, the state of the facts as to the evidences for the pre-existence of the Pentateuch in the later history and literature is absolutely at variance with the representation of it given by the 'critical' school. 'Hebrew antiquity shows absolutely no tendencies towards a hierocracy,'* says Wellhausen (page 5). How, then, are we to account for the prevalence through ages of the system of judges in the face of difficulties and disorders which more or less apparently arose from it, and contrary to the usage of all the surrounding nations? What, on this supposition, is the historical meaning of the words of Gideon, when the people wished to make him king in a very simple and uncultured period of Israel's

* It is presumed that he means the system of the Mosaic Theocracy.

history : ' I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you ; the Lord is your king ' (shall rule over you) ? (Judges viii. 23.)

' The pre-exilic period shows no indications of the legislation of P as being in operation,' says Professor Driver. What indications, might we ask, does the post-exilic period give of P as being in operation ? And why, on this supposition, does Dr. Driver devote many pages to a historical inquiry as to the growth of P, as evidenced in the later history ? It is the very purpose of the so-called 'critical' apparatus to destroy the evidence.

There are abundant references and allusions to every part of P in the later history and literature precisely of the kind which historical analogy would lead us to expect. But the evidence is got rid of by the preposterous conception that Leviticus and the rest of the supposed P, with all its unity of motive and archaism of language, and with a difference of historical atmosphere equivalent, according to Wellhausen, to 'all the difference that separates two whole worlds,' is not homogeneous. It was, we are told, a late compilation, bit by bit produced by priests living amongst the most different circumstances and under the most diverse conditions.

The references of the later literature to every

part of the supposed P are stultified by a baseless theory of its growth, which is at variance with all historical analogy and without any parallel. It is a generally received historical principle that references to any work in the past are to that work as it has been handed down by literary tradition, unless there be overwhelming evidence to the contrary. It is also to be very carefully borne in mind by the truth-seeking inquirer that that part which is arbitrarily assigned to P in the Mosaic legislation is just that part which historical analogy teaches would be least likely, *if in operation*, to receive detailed reference in the later times. Hints and allusions are all that it would be likely for us to expect. To technical ceremonial institutions going on in the every-day experience of all men we have no reason to expect the historian or the prophet would make any elaborated or detailed reference. They would tend to speak of them only where something anomalous was to be recorded, or some forgotten lesson was to be called to the popular mind. The argument from silence proceeds upon a mistaken view of the nature of history.

2. But we are told it is not silence alone. The later Hebrew history indicates facts and customs which 'conflict with the fundamental institutions of P.' And the argument runs that

therefore these fundamental institutions of P did not exist. We cannot allow them to exist until we find some historical period where we may find no facts or customs which conflict with them. This seems to us rather hard upon the supposed P. Because the conclusion would probably arise that it would be impossible for him to exist at all.

There is certainly no historic reason for allowing him to exist in post-exilic times. Is there not some historic ground for believing that the second Temple was conspicuous for its deficiency in some of the most fundamental institutions of P? What are we to say to the Rabbinical tradition of 'the five lost things'? The Holy of Holies is reported to have been quite empty in the second Temple. There was no ark in it.* That is apparently historically certain. This surely is a strange concomitant of the putting of P into complete operation, and a strange commentary on the Wellhausenian myth that the Tabernacle is P's late invention! 'The holy fire, the Shechinah, the spirit of prophecy, and the Urim and Thummim' are said to have been absent also. The holy oil of unction did not exist because its very composition was unknown.

* See Stanley's 'Jewish Church,' III., 95; Edersheim's 'Temple,' page 38.

But here, again, the certain verdict of historical analogy comes to our relief. While, on the one hand, it teaches that the comparative silence of historians and writers of later times is no proof that national institutions are not in operation, on the other it bids us expect as certainly only a varying consistency in carrying them out. It is highly probable that at every period of the history of Israel more of the great ideal of Moses was carried into practice than historians and writers make direct mention of.* This is an inference to be gathered from many a fact which, as it were, incidentally emerges and tells its tale to the observant. But on the other hand, as Riehm in part has well pointed out in his 'Messianic Prophecy,' it is the very fact that no ideal, whether in politics or religion, however ably and nobly schemed, has ever realised itself completely in history—it is just this fact that points onward. Ezekiel has rightly read the inspired lesson of his times: 'Thus hath said the Lord Jehovah, Remove the diadem and take off the crown; this shall no longer continue the same. Abase the height, exalt the plain. Perversion, subversion, overturning will I make it, till he shall come whose right it is, and I will give it to him.'

* In the same way is it probable that the eighteenth century had more religion in it than is generally supposed.

The theocracy failed, but it was a shadow of that greater kingdom of God which is come and evermore coming. The ideal king of flesh and blood of the monarchy failed, and failed signally ; but none the less was he the type of the King of Peace and Righteousness, who is not ashamed to call us brethren, whose kingdom knows no end. The Mosaic constitution failed, though it was planned by so noble and so generous a mind, and had its foundations laid so deep and its structure towering to heaven ; but it failed, to give place to a greater type still of One who came with bleeding hands and thorn-crowned brow to fulfil it to its length and breadth and height higher than the heavens. The ideal, struggling through the confusion of the present, fails but to succeed and to point us ever higher. God Almighty has not raised the ideal before the human family to mock its efforts and round our span of life with a dream. The realisation waits.

Historical analogy shows beyond a doubt that inconsistencies and glaring contradictions quite contrary to the fundamental institutions of statesmen and reformers may exist, and do exist, side by side with the documents and symbols which condemn them. And these inconsistencies and contradictions are no evidence against the pre-existence of those documents

and symbols. This pre-existence has its own proof, and in moral and spiritual things after-practice is insufficient to invalidate that proof. Else the proof is ready to our hands of the non-existence of New Testament Christianity, from the frequent experience we have of the absence of its fundamental principles.

We might argue on the review of any historical period that a heaven-born religion ought to have had more influence; that New Testament Christianity could have only existed in embryo and as 'a bare scheme,' whose 'real history' must be put together from the elements which we observe actually working in the period examined. But the subject, fortunately, can be approached more nearly still. There is amongst us a code and institution which strongly resembles the code of the supposed P. It is called the Book of Common Prayer. We are in possession of the history, more or less in detail, of the manner in which it has been put into practice. The argument of historical inconsistency, as it is applied by Wellhausen and Kuenen to the Old Testament, would certainly lead to a theory which could be supported by a solid array of facts and very ingenious and somewhat learned reasoning that it consists of old material worked up by the leaders of the tractarian revival, which has not yet reached

its complete form. It might on this hypothesis be cogently argued to be still in process of making. And this would only be consistently applying the historical method of Wellhausen's school, touching observed inconsistencies, to other matter. If it is good and valid in one direction, it must be good and valid all round.

The reader may perhaps realise that this is not any mere statement from the following quotation from an interesting work, in which a good deal of material lies ready for any 'critic' who should care to work it up. 'It seems to be now very commonly assumed that at the time of its compilation and of the revisions which it afterwards underwent, the Prayer-Book of each date was at once fully put in force, as if there were no hindrances from prejudices or any other circumstances, or as if, at least, no allowance were made for such impediments; as if the simple issuing of a book forthwith established in every place of worship throughout the land all the order and beauty which the system of our Church prescribes or allows. A glance at the Church's history will show that such an assumption is somewhat rash' (Robertson's 'How shall we Conform to the Liturgy?' page 12). And in this work there follows what we suppose to be ample materials for working up a 'brilliant' theory. It will be

comparatively unnecessary to use the critical knife, or to resort to the necessity of violent expedients of the imagination. There are many documents and tentative drafts of the Prayer-Book in existence. This will favour the opinion of uncertainty. There is and has been much strong and historical party spirit in the country. This may be made use of as favouring any theory of invention.

It will be seen that the remarks just quoted will have, if anything, stronger force when applied to the Pentateuch.

The nation redeemed from Egypt was sadly in need of training, and we see it to be possessed of some characteristics the reverse of favourable for any but an imperfect realisation of the ideal lifted up. That Moses found it so in his own lifetime is perhaps probable from the allusion in Deut. xii. 8. In the times after Moses the condition of popular education, though it is suggested it was always higher than is generally supposed, yet had fluctuations of a marked character. There are often evidences of reversion to original type. There are some sensible observations on these subjects in the 'Speaker's Commentary' on the Sabbatical year and the jubilee in its practical bearing, and on the general practical observance of the law ('Speaker's Commentary,'

vol. i., part ii., pages 635 and 643*), to which the reader is referred.

But, in truth, historical inconsistencies in the Hebrew history often do not exist in the sense insisted upon by theoretical criticism. A very strong point is made about the high places and local altars of the later history. And it is the practice of the 'critic' persistently to confound the idolatrous high places with the blameless instances of a local altar. But after carefully separating these two, the one being a corruption of probably Canaanite idolatry and the restoration of ancient idolatrous sacred places, and the other being entirely different in spirit, there remains an inconsistency which is more apparent than real. We have seen how the inconsistency arises. It arises from a two-fold tendency of the Pentateuch itself. The Patriarchal altars are not discredited by the law, but their sanction is upheld, whereas the whole tendency of the Mosaic new departure is to centralise the national worship. It may even be suggested, as some very cogent and illustrative parallels in our Prayer-Book rubrics and elsewhere would seem to suggest,

* 'The proportion of Israelites who maintained a strict observance of religious rites may have been as small as the proportion of baptised Christians who partake of the Holy Communion.'

that the twofold tendency was left with a purpose. The sagacity of a statesman would surely have foreseen that the new centralising tendency must work gradually, and that the future must present instances of blameless inconsistency; and he would have legislated accordingly.

And a good deal may be put down to that natural silence of the historian, the principles of which we have just been endeavouring to investigate. Let us take an instance. The feast of the dedication of the Temple of Solomon coincided, it may be presumed, with the feast of the seventh month. From the manner in which it—‘the feast’—is mentioned, it may be inferred that assembling in Jerusalem for national gatherings, more or less after the law of Moses, was already an established custom; yet so far as we are aware the history does not mention them. But it becomes apparent from Jeroboam’s policy, which made the ten tribes to sin, that periodic national assemblies for the feasts at Jerusalem were become customary.

The reader’s careful attention is requested to the further facts following. There exists only one allusion in Numb. ix. to the actual keeping of the Passover in Moses’ lifetime, and *that is made only because of a certain difficulty which arose*

at it, which needed the further prescription of the lawgiver in the event of a like case arising. Certain men were ceremonially defiled by carrying the dead body of a man. And Moses decides that this shall not hinder them from partaking in so great a feast. Yet, though no mention is made of it, there can be no doubt, if the history be real, that none of the years of wandering passed by in the very presence of the lawgiver without Passover commemoration. Again, only one Passover is mentioned in Joshua's lifetime (Josh. v.), because of its special type and special concomitants. But it can scarcely be imagined that this was the only one. An instance is incidentally recorded in Josh. xxii., which shows that the law of the central sanctuary was perfectly understood by the people.

Again, there is but uncertain mention, outside the appointment of Levitical cities, of the Levites being scattered all over the promised land as a teaching influence till we learn incidentally of their removal into the southern kingdom, when the sin of Jeroboam and his invasion of the rights of their order drove them away (2 Chron. xi. 13-15). This, though compensated for by a special order of prophets, still contributed in no little degree to the swifter deterioration of the northern king-

dom. It made Jezebel's influence more prevailing.

There is no mention of the Tabernacle and its sacrifices in the book of Judges till the history of Eli brings it to the front. Then we learn they existed all along, and we learn incidentally that its structure had become modified; and we learn incidentally in 2 Sam. vii. 6 of the changes it had undergone. The historian only mentions ordinary occurrences when special circumstances arising in connection with them bring them into prominence or make it instructive or interesting to do so.

A better and truer idea of the tenor of the ordinary religious life of the children of Israel will be gained by observing the probable amount of general education and religious spirit which existed at any given period, and which would necessarily act and react upon their observance of the law which was amongst them. The state of education may be gauged by two principles. The rise of literature always implies a certain level of general culture. A settled state of social well-being is favourable to general advance in enlightenment. That the Mosaic law had always a tendency to be observed is certain. It is seen in the atmosphere of the history, and in the genuine, if imperfect, realisation of its aims, whenever the

circumstances make it possible. The general observation of Delitzsch is true and noteworthy: 'The Torah (*i.e.*, the law of Moses) is as certainly presupposed by the whole of the post-Mosaic history and literature as the root is by the tree.'*

The argument from historical inconsistency is based upon a mistaken estimate of human nature.

The truth is that historical analogy teaches that historical silence is an illusory ground to base arguments of the non-existence of customs and usages upon; and, in the second place, that ideal institutions are realised in the ages precisely in proportion to the education of the people and to the conditions, unsettled or settled, of the times, and that in no history have ideals up to the present day been wholly and perfectly realised.

It is probably, further, a consideration worthy of the most careful attention, that the tendency to historical silence as to matters not in the direct line of the object proposed to himself in writing, would be far stronger in the ancient Hebrew writer than it would be in a modern

* Quoted in the introductory remarks of Keil in his 'Commentary on Genesis.' For instance, where would have been the sin of Jeroboam if no centralising law of ancient type had not made it a sin?

historical writer. It is true, as we have attempted to prove, that the historical genius is nobly characteristic of the early Hebrew records. But the idea of history as reproducing the past *as a whole* is of comparatively recent growth. The early Hebrew historian wrote always with a purpose, and a religious purpose. It is probable that the purpose of the author of the book of Judges, for instance, was to trace the downfall of the theocracy and its reasons in the troubles and disorders of the time. When the land had rest forty years he records nothing. The purpose of the book of Esther was to give the reason of the feast of Purim. Till recently the life of the English people was passed over in complete historical silence. History was supposed to consist of the acts of kings, political movements, and the dates of battles.

NOTES.

NOTE A. *Ezekiel and P.*

The completely baseless character of Wellhausen's 'researches' is nowhere more manifest than in his conception of the Captivity and post-Captivity era. He sees in it the golden age of priestly ambition, where originates to a great extent all the stateliness of ceremonial and all the development of a religious system, the ideal of which the priestly school, P or Q, transfers to such bits of the Pentateuch as 'he' possesses. The second Temple has

all the music. The priests establish Judaism, with all its idealism, in the place of the rude and colourless real history which lies behind them. They enlarge their revenues. They make good their position. They have a good time, and no Hebrew critic or man of education arises to say them nay by pricking the imposture.*

But the 'real history' of the epoch tells a different tale. The second Temple rises in stress and difficulty, and at its dedication the attempt at song and rejoicing after the ancient manner is well-nigh drowned by the weeping and lament of those who were old enough to remember the first. The language in which 'the Law' was written had become so antiquated as to need to be explained in public reading (Neh. viii. 8).† There is scarcely encouragement enough to build again the old waste places. The hands of the builders are faint and weary; the spirit of the few people that returned is slack and half-hearted. The priests and Levites scarcely come by their own, and need the strong backing up of the prophets. The restoration is due to a great extent to the public-spirited and large-hearted labour of a layman, and he had to teach the priests their duties. The second Temple, which was deficient in some of 'the fundamental institutions of P,' had probably to wait to the times of the Herods before any restoration of its primitive splendour was in any sort possible.

The only point of contact with the dream of Wellhausen is the fact that in the absence of a king the high-priest and the Sanhedrim assumed a proportionate addition of importance. To strengthen which and the

* This is certainly Wellhausen's conception of the time as far as it can be gathered, but Wellhausen's strength lies in his extreme vagueness.

† Some, with not a little probability, take the word translated 'reading distinctly' to mean giving a translation in Chaldaean language.

Levitical position generally may be supposed to be part of the purpose of the author of the book of Chronicles.

But the poverty of the present it was which made men's minds look back with yearning to the past, and fill it, in their restoration of what was lacking to its history from the preserved public records, with perhaps even an exaggerated conception of its greatness. If even this were the case, which we will not be sure of, it may readily be pardoned.

Jeremy Taylor has greatly said of the period when the Prayer-Book was proscribed, and the little valued privileges of Churchmen were put for a space to confusion :

‘The Book of Common Prayer was sown in tears, and is now watered with tears. Yet never was any holy thing drowned and extinguished with tears. Indeed, the greatest danger that ever the Common Prayer-Book had was the indifference and indevotion of them that used it but as a common blessing. But when excellent things go away, and then look back upon us, as our Saviour did upon St. Peter, we are more moved than by the nearer embraces of a full and actual possession.’ (Works, V., 254.)

The time of the Hebrew restoration was such a time of tears.*

It will not be possible here to approach the subject of the book of Chronicles ; but the relations which subsist between the prophet Ezekiel and the supposed legislation of P are too marked, too special, and too instructive to pass them without making a few suggestions as to their meaning.

It is supposed that the phenomena observable in the prophet Ezekiel are sufficient in themselves to give a deathblow to the fundamental institutions of theoretical criticism.

They are briefly these : (1) Ezekiel gives evidence of the most precise and detailed acquaintance with the

* Let the reader attentively consider Nehemiah viii. 9.

whole legislation of P. He is perpetually at home in the peculiarities of its language, with which he colours his own. He betrays no sense of commending to his people something that is newly come up, but rather infers a reference to something ancient and well known. (2) And yet it is entirely and admittedly impossible, from the strong scientific evidence, that he was in any way or in any part its author. (3) Further, the reason of Ezekiel's thus dwelling fondly and constantly upon the phraseology and contents of the legislation of P is as interesting as it is instructive.

Let us consider these three points. Only a bare outline will be possible.

1. The first point of Ezekiel's constant and fond attachment to the language, even in its obsolete phrases, of the supposed P legislation, it will be unnecessary to labour. It is allowed on all hands. Over and over again, in a most marked and remarkable way, the words and peculiarities, which occur only in the supposed P in the whole course of the Hebrew literature, make their appearance afresh in Ezekiel. Here alone may be found reproduced the technical terms used of the priests' dress, and of the tabernacle building, and of the sacrificial system. Very few of the really distinctive phrases in Professor Driver's lists of words peculiar to H and P (pages 45 and 123; compare his more detailed comparison of Ezekiel and P on page 139, *et seq.*) but will be found in Ezekiel. And Professor Driver's lists by no means exhaust the subject. Ezekiel is positively impregnated with the supposed P.

Perhaps it may be the most instructive to notice the recurrence of what may be called idiosyncratic expressions of the Pentateuch in Ezekiel, such as 'break the staff of bread'; **אִישׁ אִישׁ**, whoever; **יֵעַן וְבִיעַן**, because, and by the cause that; the preference of the Pentateuchal **נָשִׂיא**, 'a prince of Israel, a prince of the congregation,' as the designation of the king that is to be in the restored

Israel; and the use of the Levitical expression, מַעַל מַעַל, to trespass a trespass.

Now Dr. Driver concedes, apparently with reluctance, that all this denotes that Ezekiel was acquainted with parts of P, but he thinks it doubtful that he was acquainted with the completed P. His words are: 'However doubtful it may be whether Ezekiel presupposes the *completed* Priests' Code, it is difficult not to conclude that he presupposes *parts* of it.* This is thoroughly in his manner. The doubt exists in this, that if Ezekiel were acquainted with the whole of the supposed P, it would militate very strongly against the purely imaginary mythus of the theoretical school of critics.

The plain facts all along must be bent and twisted in obedience to Wellhausen's conception of the post-exilic era. There is no other doubt. In the same way the plain and incontestable allusions of the prophets to P are got rid of (page 136, *et seq.*) by a 'consistent explanation.' 'They attest the existence of certain institutions; they do not attest the existence of the particular document (P), in which the regulations touching those institutions are now codified.' This 'consistent explanation' is applied all along the line to get rid of the evidence. It is applied on page 137 to get rid of the plain allusions in Deuteronomy to the Priests' Code, some of which are given. Deuteronomy throughout implies the whole legislation of P. Professor Driver is nothing if he is not fair and reasonable. There might be something in this 'consistent explanation,' if there was proof elsewhere of a historical and thorough order amounting to a demonstration that P was a growth which did not reach completion till after the exile, when it bloomed out in all its full vigour and beauty. But there exists no such proof. The internal proof of P itself is all the other way. The historical allusions to P in the Hebrew literature, which are

precisely of the kind and order which every well-known document or law-book receives in the literature of to-day, only of far greater cumulative weight and better quality, are all the other way. The proof that P is a growth of the nature supposed exists solely in the mind of the critic, as the result of an acceptance of Wellhausen's theory of Judaism. It exists nowhere else. Its final resort must be that Wellhausen has proved that Judaism rose in such and such a way, and *therefore* the appearance of the facts must be interpreted that way.

But carry this 'consistent explanation' into other regions, and you plainly destroy the value of all literary allusions everywhere. It would be incomparably easier to prove by the application of this 'consistent explanation' that Shakespeare did not possess a copy of the Bible at all; but his apparent allusions to the Bible we possess were to a floating tradition, which afterwards took shape in our present Bible. It would be easy also to prove by the method of the same 'consistent explanation' that the traditions which he possessed were different from the present shape in which they have been completed. It is certain that Bacon, on the same 'consistent explanation,' had only seen a quite different form of the Biblical tradition, and he leaves an 'impression' upon the mind that the form of it current in his part of the world was much 'simpler.' For apparently the only two allusions to Biblical history to be found in him may be proved to be inconsistent with their present context, if that context be duly considered. This 'consistent explanation' is a process which does not weigh, but extirpates, the evidence. It is a plain principle, which can be seen every day, that just in proportion as a document, or law book, or poem is thoroughly well known, just in that proportion is it unnatural for any writer to allude to it at any length or in any detail. A word, a slight touch of reminiscence, a brief quotation, are all, and they become historically sufficient to show what they presuppose all

men to know. They become historical evidence both of the existence and the widespread currency of the literary production which is alluded to. The very infrequency of allusion to the Holy Scripture in, for instance, Bacon's Essays, and the very manner of it, proves, not its non-existence as a whole, but rather the great familiarity with it, which all well-read persons of his day may be presumed to have had. Moses was read in the churches every Sabbath day. And the public reading of the Law may be presumed not to be an innovation of Ezra's time, but to have been a return to one of the ancient institutions of Israel, as the antiphonal chanting plainly was.* But to satisfy the 'critic,' it would hardly be sufficient to quote the greater part or the *whole* of any document or legislation. For if, perchance, any part of it were left out or incorrectly transcribed it would be opportunity for him to fix upon to build up the edifice of some alien theory upon it. Or he might say the older writer plagiarised the later.

Slight allusions, if they be plain, are the most significant of all. But when some grand catastrophe shall have shattered the fabric of a nation's religious institutions, when in a foreign land religious privileges have yielded somewhat to confusion, when all things seem uprooted, and 'the law' threatens to fade from the minds of men, then it is a truly consistent explanation that a prophet shall bring out of his treasure things old as well as new. It is a time to impress upon the faithful the old writings of their literature. It is not unnatural to expect more than passing allusion to their time-honoured covenant, for more than passing allusion is needed. And this is Ezekiel's case.

He does presuppose the completed P, and the reason why his style is thoroughly impregnated with it is, first, because the people he is addressing need the reminder; and, secondly, because when the outward carrying out

* See Joshua viii. 34, 35.

of the ceremonial ordinances had ceased, it was natural for a priest in exile to study the record more fondly, and to endeavour to apply its *principles* the more that he was in a strange land, where he could not teach his people by its practice.

2. The style of Ezekiel is impregnated with the language and ideas of every part of the supposed P. But that is not all. Side by side with this strong and effective reminder of the past, to impress it upon the faithful few who heard him and received his teaching, there are other things. And these other things place a difference equivalent 'to the difference of two whole worlds' between him and the supposed P. It is well that no critic of name, apparently, has even given him a hand in building up the P structure (Driver, page 141). Rightly is it said that the evidence 'precludes' the authorship of Ezekiel in reference to P. No known person, according to the 'critic,' ever had a hand in it. According to the verdict of theoretical criticism, its authors must ever lurk in the dark. They are as shadowy as the proof of their existence. But the differences which exist in Ezekiel, and make all the difference of two worlds in the atmosphere in which he breathes from the atmosphere in which P lives and moves, are so instructive that it is well to learn their lesson. Let us attempt to sketch out wherein they consist.

The first point to be noticed is open to the observation of the general English reader. Let anyone attentively read Ezekiel, and observe the influences that are dominant in his prophecy. What a difference is there from the style, manner, and matter of the Pentateuch ! The Pentateuch is full of the allusion and colour which mark its age to the ordinary understanding of an educated person. And that colour is as marked and characteristic in the parts torn away, to be given to P, as in the other parts less post-dated by the 'critic.' There is the homogeneity of an old world. But in this old world

Ezekiel does not live. His allusions to it are the allusions to a distant past. The whole character of the spirit of the age is changed. The imagery of the one age will not admit of being transferred to the other. The questions and thoughts that trouble the minds of men in the one are not the questions and thoughts that prevail in the other. The ideas of the one are not the ideas of the other. They are ideas of later birth. The allusions to surrounding history, with which they both are full, are ages wide apart. Historical analogy teaches us to apply this *primâ facie* test, And it guarantees its soundness.

The writers of the Elizabethan age could not have lived in the nineteenth century. Tennyson's 'In Memoriam' is an impossible product for the Elizabethan age. As well might we transfer Carlyle or Longfellow to it. The gentle Isaac Walton's 'Angler' and Washington Irving's 'Sketch-book' are similar in their spirit of contemplative observation, but how different! How different in age are the essays of Addison again! How different are the biographies of the present time in tone and scope from the biographies of a few hundred years ago! Similar in kind, if the difference in Hebrew mind and character be taken into account, but greater in degree, is the difference of a whole world, which divides Ezekiel from the Pentateuch.

But, in the second place, to come somewhat to detail, the specific differences are significant. The manner in which Ezekiel uses, perhaps sometimes almost unconsciously, the old words and phrases with which he is so familiar, is not the manner of a man who is making reference to some present growing influence with only its roots in the past, but is the manner of a man who is impregnated with the influences of something too established to be altered, too firm to be shaken, too well understood for his use of it to be misinterpreted.

Let the reader bear in mind that if the completed P were being finally shaped, or if even the influences that

were to bring it to birth were only slowly moving in Israel of the Captivity, Ezekiel was of the priestly party. The priestly party were on a journey uphill. Ezekiel would naturally have been the last to confuse their aims, or to seek to render their task more difficult. But this, on the critical hypothesis, is just what, as a matter of fact, he did do. His treatment of the subjects akin to P and involved in P is perfectly intelligible on the supposition, which is historical and admits of proof, that the P legislation was Mosaic, and that it consequently had its roots too deep in the nation's life to be disturbed; that it was too well understood to have its meaning confused, and that its principles and practice were too customary to be confounded. But, on the other supposition, that the P legislation was for the most part purely traditionary, and based upon no well-established document; that it was growing into formulation; that it was destined by the priestly school to supplant the simpler and ruder past; and that it was so strong in its hold upon the priestly mind that they ventured to throw it back into the past in the form of a pure fiction of an imaginary Tabernacle—on these suppositions, for which there is absolutely no proof, the behaviour of Ezekiel was unintelligible. He was emphatically of the priestly school. His language is so impregnated with every part of the priestly code that it is certain that he knew a great number of its 'parts.' But he was so badly informed of the intentions of the priestly school, of which yet he must have been the hero and genius, that he does simply nothing but confuse their ideas, and do his utmost to render their project impossible. He must have been in character and force the strongest influence of his age. No priest of the Captivity or after it came near to him for force of character or popular influence. And yet every line he wrote was calculated, on this supposition, to hinder the Levitical code, as we know it, from coming into operation. As the law of Moses, established a

thousand years, realised in the splendours of the Temple of Solomon, the cherished and reverend standard of the priests of Israel for many generations, it would tower above him. But as the compilation of floating traditions, authorised by men of no greater influence than he himself had, and not so much, built up and altered to a great extent by pure fiction, it would certainly go down before him. Ezekiel would have successfully confused the minds of men on these subjects, and rendered the priestly project impossible to realise.

To suggest some of the details of the proof of this, that (1) the language of Ezekiel is the language of a later age, speaking of something ancient, though almost unconsciously impregnated with it, and (2) that the ideas of Ezekiel *on the supposition of theoretical criticism* are simply confusing, is all that we can do.

i. The language of Ezekiel is truly and most noticeably impregnated with the whole course of P, but there are very significant differences. Some of these may be given. (a) The colours of the tabernacle and of Solomon's Temple after it, including the sacred Egyptian blue of the borders and fringes, are mentioned elsewhere only in Ezekiel; but in him they occur in a different context of the lay dress of the rich and splendid.

(b) Alongside the recurrence of many, if not most, of the technical terms used of the tabernacle building occur specific and later differences. שפתיים is used for pots, where Exodus has the word סיר. דרום is used for the direction south, where Exodus has the word תהתן. נגב, which never occurs in the Pentateuch, is the expression for 'lower' in Ezekiel. איל, the Pentateuch word for a ram, is used in Ezekiel for a post or support; in this sense it occurs in Ezekiel only. קרים, which is only used in the Pentateuch of the east wind, is used in Ezekiel very often in the sense of east side, and in him in this sense only; elsewhere it is always used in the older language

of the east wind. **תא**, a word later than the Pentateuch, is used for a chamber. **בנין**, a building, is peculiar to Ezekiel; **גבה**, of height measurement, is also peculiar to him. A considerable number of words, such as **מנה**, empty space; **גורה**, the separate place; **מכורה**, birth or nativity, are peculiar to Ezekiel. Where Exodus used **סביב**, around, we find it characteristically repeated **סביב סביב** in Ezekiel; just as in the phrase **מפה מפה**, on this side, on that side, characteristic of Ezekiel's style. A considerable number of words, demonstrably later than the Pentateuch, occur, such as **היצון**, outer court; **לשכה**, chamber of the temple; **רצפה**, pavement; **קינה**, song or dirge; **רוח**, wind or spirit, as used for 'side.' Ezekiel goes over the same ground as far as language is concerned, but he goes over it in a changed manner.

ii. In the second place, the ideas presented could only confuse the aims of the priestly school. To affect the after action of the law of Moses was not possible, for that was established. Ezekiel's temple was confessedly for all men only a vision and a prophecy. But to confuse and confound the supposed priestly school and their purposes, he could not have taken a way more calculated to succeed. There is no ark in his temple.

The word applied in Exodus exclusively to the table of the shewbread is employed by Ezekiel only of certain 'tables' for the slaughter of the sacrificial beasts, which may be presumed to be new; and in Ezek. xl. 43 occurs the curious expression, 'Upon the tables of the flesh of the offering **קרבן**,' which is quite unlike the Pentateuch, and the phrase 'the table' is used as below of the altar. There is one allusion, and only one, to the tabernacle, which is so strange, if it be an allusion to a growing fiction, as to be quite incredible to be so used (xli. 1): 'The breadth of the temple was the breadth of the tent' (**האהל**). The word **קנה**, used in Exodus of the branches of the candlestick, is used by Ezekiel only in the sense of a measuring

rod, as far as its technical sense is concerned. The altar, the only mention of the material of which is wood, is spoken of as a table. 'This is the table which is before the Lord' (Ezek. xli. 22). The word תֹּרָה, 'law,' is used in the significance, 'fashion or establishment' of the building of the Temple. 'This is the law of the house' (xliii. 12). A joint and equal participation of the land is to be given to resident strangers (xlvi. 21, 22, 23), which is a thing wholly new to the Levitical law and alien from the spirit of later Pharisaism. The title 'Holy of Holies,' which in the Pentateuch is confined to the part behind the veil, is given by Ezekiel to the whole Temple, and apparently its precincts (xliii. 12). And there are other things of a like kind, which could only tend to confuse the projects of the supposed priestly school.

3. The truth is, that the Captivity and post-Captivity era was an era of retrospect. The prophecy of Ezekiel was a vision, having its elements in the past ; at once a prophecy of restoration, and a prophecy of the old order changing to give its place to the new and the Messianic order. To attribute a great spirit of origination to the post-Captivity times is a complete historical anachronism. The times were times when it was difficult enough even to restore. They lacked the spirit and impulse sufficient to devise things high and great and glorious for the first time. Out of their stony griefs they raised their Bethel. The new Temple, which rose in tears, was a shadow of the old. It did not inspire. The fine hymns of praise in the last book of the Psalter that truly adorned it are but a monument of the faith and patience of the saints, which has often been seen to rise the highest when the surrounding conditions were those of discouragement (Acts xvi. 25).

NOTE B. *The Samaritan Pentateuch.*

It will be impossible to obtain a complete idea of the question as to who wrote the Pentateuch after all, and the

extent to which the school of theoretical criticism have given any trustworthy answer to it, without an allusion to a subject, which, though the allusion to it must be brief, is yet considered to deserve the most careful attention of the reader. There is a people whom the post-Captivity writer, Jesus the son of Sirach, about two hundred years after the restoration, speaks of as his pet aversion, 'They that sit upon the mountain of Samaria, and that foolish people that dwell in Sichem' (Ecclus. i. 26). The Samaritans are a strange people with a strange history; but their ambitions were stranger still. Reputed to be of purely Cuthæan stock by the Jews, they themselves always asserted a lineage from Ephraim and Manasseh. They were apparently a mixed race. The foreign colonists had evidently become mingled with the poorer and more insignificant Israelites that the Assyrians had left (2 Kings xvii. 24, *et seq.*). They had been taught how to fear Jehovah by a priest of Israel. When the Jews of the restoration were beginning their temple-building, these Samaritan people, apparently in all sincerity, offered their help (Ezra iv.), and were ignominiously refused. From that time dated a continuous feud, jealousy, and bitter animosity between them and the people of Jerusalem, which once yielded a little in a time of great danger to both, but which burst out again, and was the reigning feeling between them.

The reader will notice carefully when it began. It began just when, according to the theoretical school, the priestly party were completing their code and its imaginary tabernacle. Now, the ground of the feud was 'the law.' The Temple-builders asserted their ecclesiastical right and inherited right to the law of Moses and the Temple. The Samaritans set up what was a rival temple henceforward, and a rival observance of the Mosaic law. Now, the Samaritans had a Pentateuch. They did not apparently possess the rest of the Hebrew literature. But a copy of the law apparently had formed the basis of 'the

priest's' instruction as to how to fear the Lord. And they carry it out after their manner to this day.

But more than this, whereas in the time of Ezra, or after, all probability points to the transliteration of the whole Hebrew literature, including the Pentateuch, into the square Babylonian character, the Samaritans, naturally enough after their rejection, did not adopt that fashion. Their Pentateuch continues in the earlier Phœnician character, which can be proved in use by the Hebrews of earlier times, and which, with some modification, is to this day the same in the Samaritan Pentateuch.

Now, the use of this Samaritan Pentateuch in the earlier days as an argument by the so-called 'conservative' school is treated by Bleek as shadowy and uncertain, as it applied to the earlier phases of the divisive hypothesis. It passed somewhat into the background as an argument for the integrity of the Mosaic text. But it passes the mind of man* how it can be entirely got rid of as an evidence against the truth of the Wellhausenian theory. For in it, word for word, is the *whole* of the legislation of P, the supposed fiction of the tabernacle included. It has been too controversially treated for there to be the least doubt on the subject.

The text of the Samaritan has been upheld on controversial principles to be far purer than that of the Hebrew, while, on the other hand, the Rabbis have said, 'You (*i.e.*, you Samaritans) have falsified your Pentateuch. And the truth is that there are various readings indeed, some of them characteristic, and some of them in favour of the Mount Gerizim as a centre of worship, but the whole of the Pentateuch is substantially the same.

Now the point is this. Here is the *whole* of the

* In using the term mind, we mean ordinary mind. Wellhausen would be able, possibly, to prove that the priest that taught the Cuthæans was the very P himself, and that the Samaritans taught the Jews their P.

legislation of P. The Samaritans were from the first in feud with the returned Jews on the question of their law, and set up for their rivals as to their punctilious observance of the law of Moses.

If P in its complete form was doubtfully known to Ezekiel, and only budded out into the perfection of its code, and in the bold invention of its history in post-Captivity times, how comes it that the Samaritans ever consented to embody it in their own Pentateuch, and probably on this supposition to transcribe it into their own characters because they refused to borrow from the returned Hebrews their Babylonian square characters?

How did they ever come to regard it with the same respect as it is certain they regarded the rest of the Pentateuch? It was on this hypothesis the code which was to a large extent the new product of the very men with whom on this very point they were in bitter antagonism.

NOTE C. *Professor F. A. Wolf and Homer.*

It may be useful to remind the general reader that the method of theoretical criticism has been applied to other ancient authors in a manner very similar to that employed upon the Old Testament, but, in the judgment of the calmer and more solid scholarship, never with any particular success. It is, therefore, a method which has been discredited in other fields of research. This is particularly the case with Homer. Homer is what might be called the Greek Bible. The quotations from him in all succeeding Greek literature are analogous to the quotations from the Pentateuch in the Hebrew literature. The 'critical' handling of him deals with two main propositions. The first and oldest is directed against the literary tradition that he wrote the 'Odyssey' at all. This is the doctrine of the separators, and is met by the fact of the undesigned coincidences between the 'Iliad' and the

'Odyssey,' and the improbability that there were two poets of the rank and ability of Homer. The second is that which forms the subject of the 'brilliant' prolegomena of Professor F. A. Wolf, in which he endeavours to prove that Homer never wrote the 'Iliad' at all, but that it is the product of several unknown writers called rhapsodists, who were afterwards joined into the one poem which has come down to us. It is supposed that Mr. Gladstone's literary primer on Homer (Macmillan), along with other things of interest, makes both these theories appear very unnatural. Two or three quotations will make apparent the similarity of the process applied to Homer, and the similarity of the success that, in the judgment of plainly competent scholars, accompanies it.

'The consideration,' says Professor Blackie, 'that Homer had ancient material to embody will enable the student to make short work not only with the hypercritical capriciousness and peeping anatomy of Lachmann, but also with the large and philosophical analysis of Mr. Grote. We must not start, in our inquiry into the unity of the "Iliad," with the strong inclination to magnify the importance of small inconsistencies, but with the most charitable desire possible to overlook them. This poet, as compared with Virgil, Dante, or Milton, demands the special indulgence of the critic; and yet it does rather seem that, from Wolf down to Grote, the whole army of objectors are keenly set upon being particularly severe, in many cases positively ill-natured, and from a poetic point of view, as Colonel Mure has triumphantly shown, positively unjust.'

'The idea that the poem of the "Iliad,"' says Mr. Grote in his 'History of Greece' (quoted in Kay's 'Crisis Hupfeldiana'), 'as we read it, grew out of atoms not originally designed for the places which they now occupy, involves us in new and inextricable difficulties, when we seek to elucidate either the mode of coalescence or the degree of existing unity. The advocates of the Wolfian

theory appear to feel the difficulties which beset it ; for their language is wavering in respect to their supposed primary atoms. But if it be granted that the original constituent songs were so composed, though by different poets, as that the more recent were adapted to the earlier with more or less dexterity and success, this brings us into totally different conditions of the problem ; it is a virtual surrender of the Wolfian hypothesis, which, however, Lachmann both means to defend and does defend with ability ; though his vindication of it has, to my mind, only the effect of exposing its inherent weakness, by carrying it out into something detailed and positive.'

'Happily, the primary characteristics of the poet,' says Mr. Gladstone (page 45), 'are distinct from the minutely granulated evidence to be obtained from the details of the text. These are open to the observation and judgment of many persons who, without being professional or persistent students, are cultivated and attentive readers. Such are the structure of the plots, the delineation of characters, their sustained consistency, the unity and individuality of the style. And these, even alone, may, I hope, be generally sufficient to obtain a tolerably assured verdict on the main issues.'

In other fields of inquiry the process of disintegration is discredited. But the reader must most carefully bear in mind that Homer and Moses stand upon a different footing. It is a great deal easier to imagine that the poems of Homer were composite than to imagine the Law of Moses to be so in the sense worked out by theoretical criticism. And this in two respects. First, because writing in the case of Moses was natural ; in the case of Homer it was not. His poem for ages was publicly recited by rhapsodists before it was written. Mr. Gladstone has shown (page 41, *et seq.*) that this would have its safeguards as well as its dangers for the integrity of the text. But in the case of Moses, and for national histories such as the books of Moses are, we have by

contemporary evidence shown writing to be customary and under public control and guardianship. The atmosphere of literary tradition and the conditions have been shown to be much stronger in their evidence for Moses than they are in the case of Homer.

But more important still, in the second place, is it to be observed that there is, when the two theories and the two 'brilliant' prolegomena are compared, all the difference of two worlds in the result, as indeed in the process. In the one case the theory of the rhapsodists afterwards pieced together into Homer is probably, as a matter of fact, quite untenable from the evidence; but these rhapsodists are not so far removed in historic position and authority from Homer himself. They are not separated by ages of change and historical progress from their implied times.

The question for Homer is one of purely archaeological interest. Whichever way it be taken, it leaves the historical and geographical value of what is contained in the poem *untouched*.

But in the case of Moses, and in the case of the implied contemporaneous history of the Pentateuch, the prolegomena of Wellhausen leave these things a mass of legend, triumphantly challenged as historically worthless, and without any sacred lesson in them for mankind. The growth of the legend may be in this view scholastically interesting, but in the world of no great importance. Wellhausen robs us of a revelation of God, which, if it be true, it is alike the interest and the reward of every Christian man seriously to take to heart.

This theory does not leave the historical and geographical value of the Pentateuch untouched.

It uproots it to plant in its place a 'brilliance' of confusion and uncertainty.

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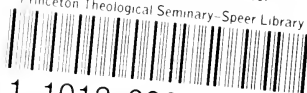
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